



SOCIAL ACTION

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SOCIAL ACTION

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Editorial

PEACE AND THE SUMMIT

On May 16th the long awaited and much heralded Summit Conference will open in Paris. The Conference will discuss Berlin, disarmament and other political questions but the real item on the agenda, and the one which will always be in the background whatever the particular problem being discussed, will be the question of world peace.

The quest for peace is today the leading preoccupation of a world weary of fifteen years of "cold war." The very word has become a kind of holy word. No statesman today dares make a speech without declaring over and over again that he is in favour of peace — and some have been known to use the word two or three times in the same sentence. Presented with the gift of a lamb on his recent

visit to France, Mr. Krushchev promptly christened it 'Peace' and expressed the hope that it would grow. At the Summit Meeting the leaders of the great powers will have an opportunity to contribute something more than words to the cause of world peace.

Unfortunately there seems little chance that the Summit Conference will bring the much desired goal of genuine peace any closer. The reason is not that the world's leaders are insincere when they protest constantly that they want peace. The reason is that the modern world, along with its leaders, no longer understands what peace really is. Most people today, including our leaders if their speeches are any criterion, think that peace is something negative, namely the absence of war. Hence the great emphasis on

disarmament as a means of achieving "peace." It is also thought that peace can be produced directly through such devices as treaties, increased trade, cultural exchanges and the like. Here we have two capital errors which, as long as they exist, must continue to frustrate the search for world peace. The simple truth is that peace is not something negative. It is something eminently positive. And it cannot be produced directly but only indirectly. It is not a product like TV sets or ballistic which can be produced at will, but a "by-product" which emerges automatically when certain conditions are verified and cannot come into being when those conditions are not verified. To try to create peace without first creating the conditions on which it depends is as futile as trying to create a triangle without first arranging the three lines in their proper relationship. And if one does that, creation of the triangle presents no separate problem. It takes care of itself.

What then is peace and on what conditions does it depend? The answer is contained in St. Augustine's

celebrated definition of peace, composed fifteen centuries ago (at a time, not unlike the present, when an old order was fast vanishing and a new world being born.) "Peace in its final sense," wrote the great Bishop in his *City of God*, "is the calm that comes of order." And order "is an arrangement of like and unlike things whereby each of them is disposed in its proper place." (*Civ. Dei*, XIX, c. 13). Here, in these simple words, is the key to the problem of peace. And when order exists peace necessarily follows, for it is the calm which is born of order. Our Summit leaders would do well to ponder Augustine's definition before they begin their talks in Paris. Then let them talk not only about disarmament and treaties but about the problem of creating right order among the "like and unlike things" of the earth:— the Soviet Union and her satellites like Hungary and Poland; the Western powers and their colonies like Algeria and Rhodesia; the coloured man and his white oppressors, whether those oppressors be American or Afrikaners; the rich nations and their poor undeveloped colleagues in the world economy. When

each of these unequal elements is "disposed in its proper place" we shall have the calm that comes of order. And that is peace.

There is, of course, no chance whatever that such questions will be discussed in Paris at the forthcoming Summit Meeting. That would constitute "unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of other nations" as it does at the United Nations. And that is why the Conference will contribute little to the creation of genuine peace in the world even if it succeeds in postponing the prospect of war.

When doing their "homework" in preparation for the coming meeting, our leaders would also do well to ponder Pope John's most recent Christmas Message. The real obstacles to peace in the world, the Pope said, are obstacles put there by "the malice of men." These obstacles can be removed and the order and harmony of true peace achieved only if "world leaders recognize that they are subject to eternal moral laws." Peace makes its appearance in the world, the Pontiff continued, in three

stages, all of which are closely intertwined and dependent on one another. These stages are peace of heart, social peace and international peace.

The cornerstone of all peace is peace of heart because peace, in the words of the Pontiff, is "before all else an interior thing belonging to the spirit, and its fundamental condition is a loving and filial dependence on the Will of God." (This is the peace which Christ bequeathed to the world: "My peace I leave to you, My peace I give unto you. . . ." (John 14: 27). He knew that if this peace existed in the hearts of men all other peace would follow.)

Peace of heart paves the way for social peace which is "solidly based on mutual and reciprocal respect for the personal dignity of man." Without this respect there can be no true peace in society or in the world.

International peace is the final flowering and crown of peace of heart and social peace; — the final disposition of the "like and the unlike", the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, the lowly and

the high born, in harmony and order.

Before this three-tiered temple of peace can be raised a triple cornerstone must be laid, a foundation of truth, justice and charity. Truth, the Pope declared, is above all the basis of international peace. Only when truth prevails can confidence and mutual trust between nations be created. From truth must proceed justice, "which alone removes the causes of quarrels and wars, solves disputes, fixes the tasks, defines the duties and gives the answers to the claims of each party." Justice in its turn must be "integrated and sustained by Christian charity." That is, the Pontiff explains, "love of neighbour and one's own people ought not to be concentrated on self in an exclusive egotism and suspicion of another's good but ought to expand and reach out spontaneously toward the community of interests, to embrace all peoples." It will thus be possible," he continues, "to speak of *living together* and not of mere co-existence which precisely because it is deprived of this inspiration of mutual dependence raises barriers be-

hind which nestle mutual suspicion, fear and terror."

Truth, justice, charity: these are the lines of a golden triangle which must first fall into place before there can be true peace in the world. And how far from these three virtues the nations of the world are at the present time with their thinly veiled hatred of one another, their lying propaganda attacks on one another and their constant and devious maneuvering to expand and dominate one another. The gulf is the precise measure of the distance which separates the world from genuine peace. The Pope notes sadly in his message that the men of our times have not carried into effect the necessary conditions of peace, and "that God's paths towards peace have no meeting point with those of man." These are words of dire warning. When man's path diverges from God's there is only one possible end for man: destruction.

In his Christmas message, Pope John reminds Catholics that they have a special responsibility in the quest for world peace. It is completely

intolerable, he says, "for Catholics to restrict themselves to the position of mere observers; they should feel themselves clothed, as it were, with a mandate from on high." World leaders and statesmen cannot create peace in the world. All men must collaborate in this great venture, for peace is an interior thing, something which springs from the heart of man. In this great quest Catholics should be in the vanguard. We are the special inheritors

of the Peace of Christ, that peace of heart without which neither social nor international peace are possible. Let us look into our hearts to see if it has taken root there and brought forth fruits of justice and charity and respect for the dignity of our fellow-man whatever be his religion, colour or social position. When enough people in the world do this order will emerge in the world, and with that order a great calm — genuine and lasting peace.

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THE MANAGER

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

James J. Berna *

In their efforts to achieve the social and economic transformation which they so ardently desire, many underdeveloped countries of the world are placing great reliance on a movement which has become known as "Community Development." Community Development programmes under the name of "Village Development", "Community Action", "Community Development", etc. are now in operation in a dozen or more underdeveloped countries. In India, as is well known, the programme is large and has already achieved impressive results. It will be extended considerably during the period of the Third Plan. The philosophy and techniques of the Com-

munity Development movement merit close study by everyone engaged in the Church's Social Apostolate. Such a study can make our work in the social-economic field more effective.

Definition

One of the best definitions of Community Development is the one developed at the Ashridge Conference held in Great Britain in 1948 when the movement was described as:

A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for

* Fr. Berna is a member of the Indian Social Institute. This article is the further development of ideas originally presented in a paper delivered at the Seventh Annual Fordham University Conference of Mission Specialists held in New York in January 1959. The theme of the Conference, soon to be published, was "Community Development and the Missionary."

arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement.¹

The definition of the United Nations Organization, which is intensely interested in the world-wide Community Development movement, parallels closely the Ashridge definition:

....the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective.

Changing People

The key words in these definitions are *initiative*, *participation of the people themselves*, and *self-help*. For centuries the rural people of the under-developed countries of the world have been completely passive. They have been dominated by others: their landlords, their money-lenders, their governments.

Their opinion has never been asked nor their active help enlisted to improve the sub-human conditions in which they have lived. At times efforts have been made by Governments and others to help them but this has taken the form of doing things for them rather than systematically encouraging them to do things for themselves. The Community Development programme aims at changing all this. It seeks not merely to help the village people of backward rural areas but to involve the people themselves in the process of social and economic change. It seeks to stir up local initiative and responsibility. An authentic Community Development programme aims first and foremost not at changing living conditions but at changing people and their attitudes toward the conditions in which they live. In this way the movement contributes to the development of human personality which gives the movement the unique importance. True development of the human personality implies growth in self-confidence and self-respect; a

¹ Quoted by Louis B. Miniclier, Chief of the Community Development Division of the U. S. International Cooperation Administration, in a paper at the Fordham Conference.

growing sense of responsibility towards oneself, one's dependents and the community; increased reliance on personal initiative in the attainment of objectives; and the ability to work with others to effect changes necessary for the good of all. Albert Mayer, one of the early pioneers of the Community Development movement in India, has summed up well the aims of the movement when he says that its objective is "inner development, development within the villagers themselves."² And what Father Cleymans of the Social Institute has said about the cooperative movement applies perfectly to Community Development: "the ultimate aim is that each individual should discover his own personal value and come to conscious self-respect and the will to be respected by others."

Economic Programme

If the Community Development movement is primarily concerned with chang-

ing people and their attitudes it is no less interested in improving the social and economic conditions in which they live. As Mayer rightly says, one cannot speak of genuine inner development "if many people remain in sub-human conditions far below the threshold of well-being."³ The spirit of initiative, a sense of responsibility, growing self-confidence and self-respect must eventually find external expression and become embodied in external achievement for oneself and the community if they are really developing within the villagers. External achievement, moreover, does much to nourish "inner development." That is why from the beginning, even in the initial pilot stage, Community Development programmes place great emphasis on tangible achievements: greater crop yields in the demonstration half-field which has been sown with improved varieties of seed; the construction of a road or a bund which does not wash away with the first

2 Albert Mayer, *Pilot Project, India* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1958), p.236. This book tells the story of the famous Etawah Project, the prototype of Community Development projects in India, and contains much valuable information on the problems involved in setting up a community development project.

3 Ibid.

monsoon; the sinking of a well so that women no longer have to walk two miles each morning and evening for water. Economic projects are given special emphasis because their value can be understood and appreciated by the simplest villager. These first successes raise hope in the villager's breast. They bring home the fact, as no words can, that improvement really is possible. Thus they raise the villager's sights, the first step toward raising the man. They awaken the sense of pride which comes from accomplishment, and whet the appetite for more and greater achievement. Even more important, economic betterment touches an area very close to the people, that is, their subsistence level of living and all the suffering which accompanies it. Economic projects catch the interest of the whole community. They are something tangible which the people can get behind and work for as a group. Thus they serve a very important purpose in the early stages of community development. We speak of "community development" but must not forget that "community creation" is often the first thing needed. In many backward

areas the people do not yet form a community, except in the sense of physical juxtaposition of persons and families. The psychological and spiritual unity, the sense of social responsibility and ability to work together implied in the term "human community" have yet to be created. Each family is often a lonely island attempting by its own pitiful efforts to build up dikes against the sea of misery which threatens to engulf it. These people must first of all be brought together in a common effort for the good of all. To bring this about is one of the most important functions of the economic betterment programme in community development work. Important as achievement is, however, we must not lose sight of the point stressed above that achievement through personal initiative and self-help is the main thing. In genuine community development the methods used to achieve economic improvement are as important as the improvement itself.

Social Apostolate

These considerations hold some timely reminders for everyone engaged in the

Church's Social Apostolate, that complex of activities and programmes aimed at bringing our people to a social and economic level befitting the dignity of human persons created in the image of God and redeemed by His Son. This apostolate is necessarily preoccupied with problems of poverty, economic insecurity and social injustice in all its forms. But its ultimate aim is always "inner development", the full and harmonious flowering of man's personality, including his moral and religious personality. The objective of the Social Apostolate is not to proselytize or convert. Neither is its purpose social and economic improvement for their own sake. If we are much concerned with credit unions and co-operatives, labour schools and small industry programmes it is because crushing poverty and constant insecurity press man down toward the sub-human level of subsistence living and deprive him of the power to fulfill his moral obligations toward himself, his dependents and the community at large. They stunt the development of the human personality and thus impede man's moral and religious growth as well. The two are

inseparable and man must develop as a human being if he is to come to maturity as a religious being. Man is a complex whole made up of matter and spirit from which emanate social, economic and moral drives which are closely interrelated and constantly react on one another at every level of human activity. Being an integrated whole, the human personality must develop as a whole. It cannot grow by separate compartments, and it is idle to think that we can create a just and stable economic order or develop truly religious personalities without first bringing into existence the basic human qualities of responsibility, initiative, unselfishness and hard-work.

All this means that in the work of the Social Apostolate, as in the Community Development movement, methods are as important as results. The question is whether the methods we commonly employ to improve the living conditions of our people are calculated to produce in them the human qualities just enumerated. Or are we too inclined to do everything ourselves, thus smothering lay initiative and cutting off at

the roots the lay leadership which might be nourished by a more patient and far-seeing approach? The temptation to impose from above rather than foster growth from below is likely to be particularly strong where economic betterment programmes are concerned, such as the launching of cooperatives, small industries and similar projects. The need for improvement is frequently so urgent that great temptations arise to bypass the slower, (and riskier) step-by-step methods aimed at involving the people themselves in the organization and management of the projects, in favour of more efficient and direct methods. Anxious to get results as soon as possible we are likely to grow impatient and start doing the job for them rather than bring them to the point where they can do it for themselves. If the temptation is yielded to the ultimate aim of our work, which is true human development, will not be accomplished. Admittedly there are many grave problems in the way of fostering personal

initiative, self-help and management of projects by the people themselves.⁴ But against these difficulties and the troubles which flow from them we must balance the ultimate aim of our work in the social field. We must also remember that not all social and economic progress improves man morally and spiritually, but only that which is accompanied by growth of initiative, unselfishness and a sense of responsibility toward God and man.

Integrated Programmes

Experience within the Community Development movement also throws valuable light on the need for careful planning and construction of well-organized, integrated projects if work in the social-economic field is likely to produce lasting results. How important careful planning is, is well illustrated by experience with the Etawah Project, the prototype of the Community Development Programme in India. The story of this project, launched in 1948, as told by Albert

⁴ These problems, with special reference to credit unions, were discussed at some length at the Seminar on Rural Cooperatives conducted by the Social Institute in Bombay, October 1959. Cf. *Seminar on Rural Cooperative* (Indian Social Institute, Poona 1960), pp. 4-5 41-45.

Mayer in the book referred to above is a valuable education as to what an effective social-economic programme really involves, and how important it is to work out in advance a well integrated programme. Social-economic development is a kind of "chain-reaction." One thing leads to another, and the new needs must be anticipated if old gains are not to be lost. Conditions vary from country to country, but the transition from backward agriculture to a more efficient economy follows the same basic pattern everywhere. The pattern is well illustrated by the Etawah experience.

At Etawah, in north-central India, a group of sixty-four villages was selected after careful study as the appropriate unit for a community development programme. The first attack on the economic front was made in agriculture. Improved seeds were introduced and sown in demonstration half-fields so as to make their superiority visible to all; better agricultural methods were demonstrated right in the villagers' own fields; improved farming implements and eventually some simple machinery,

such as threshers to replace the time-honoured bullocks' hooves, were gradually introduced. Simultaneously a programme of village improvement was being pushed, involving construction of schools for children, building of roads, digging of wells, village "clean-up" campaigns, and so on. Even these relatively simple projects involved many complications, some not originally foreseen. Sources of supply of improved seed and implements had to be assured, and once procured had to be carried directly to the villagers, still too sceptical regarding their value, to come and get them. This often involved improving roads between villages and supply sources. Storage facilities had to be erected, since the traditional mud huts were often too damp or flimsy to prevent contamination of the improved seed stock. A great demand for brick developed as the construction programme caught on, and because of the prohibitive cost of transport from the urban centers eventually necessitated the establishment of a local brick industry. The creation of this industry is one of the unforeseen by-products of the pilot project.

When the project was launched there was one brick-kiln in the area. Within five years there were 520 giving employment to approximately 42,000 persons directly, and an estimated 100,000 indirectly. These kilns were organized as co-operatives (quite properly because of the nature and capital requirements of the enterprise) and furnished a very useful outlet for the funds and energies of the co-operative unions already in existence.

As the project moved forward over the years, demand for improved agricultural implements and machinery rose steadily. Meeting this demand involved many problems. Sources of supply were often distant urban centers, and supplies arrived late or not at all. The new implements required maintenance, repair and spare parts for which no local facilities existed. Village blacksmiths had to be re-trained and small workshops established to provide these services. Eventually local manufacture of implements was begun on a small scale in order to ensure steadier and cheaper supplies. The important lesson to be learned from all this is that

one thing leads to another in the process of economic development. As the project takes hold, new needs come into existence and new problems appear. Unless they can be met as they arise, and this often means anticipating them in advance, development cannot continue, and even the old gains will be threatened.

Not only must the various economic components of the programme be properly integrated with one another but social programmes must keep pace with economic changes. Thus it is not sufficient that villagers' incomes rise so that they can provide themselves with better housing. They must also be taught how to use the better house, which implies training in sanitation and hygiene, better house-keeping methods, child care, etc. Otherwise the new houses will result in very little change in fundamental living conditions. There is, accordingly, a need for social service and training programmes as the economic programme begins to take hold.

Implications

At this point the average priest, diocesan social director, or layman working

in the field of the social apostolate is likely to throw up his hands in discouragement and decide that the work is not for him. It must be remembered, however, that the programme just discussed was a full-scale Community Development project aimed at transforming a sizeable area comprising sixty-four villages. There is ample room for smaller and less complicated projects than the one described, such as a programme for a single village, the organization of a local cooperative society, and so on. Such projects can do an immense amount of good for the people concerned. But we must be realistic and face the fact that a social apostolate capable of producing really significant results, and of changing the social-economic order of a given locality, calls for a much broader and integrated approach than the single local project method. The first approach to Community Development in India was the "model village" approach, but this was soon abandoned in favour of the all-round developmental approach tried at Etawah because it was

found that more often than not the gains made in a single village soon disappear because of a lack of a sound economic base in the surrounding area.

Need for Centers

What then is the answer? A clue is contained in the words of Bishop Blomjous of Mwanza, Tanganyika at the 1955 Conference of Mission Specialists held at Fordham University. At that meeting, commenting on the need for social action in the missions, he said, "I am convinced that we need also the help of specialists in these different fields in order (a) to train the future missionaries and native workers, and (b) to give expert advice to the missionaries in the field and to those who are responsible for the general training of the missionaries."⁵

The present writer wishes to second this statement with all the force at his command. The need for social-economic betterment in mission areas is now so urgent, and the people's desire for it so insistent, that we can no longer leave our efforts in this direc-

5 (*Social Action in Mission Lands*, Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Fordham University Conference of Mission Specialists, p. 151.)

tion on a part-time, piecemeal basis, or confine them to small emergency projects only. Individual missionaries have done and are doing wonderful things for their people in many parts of the world. But it is not fair to expect them to cope with the increasingly complex problems caused by the much advertised "revolution of rising expectations" currently sweeping the under-developed world. Nor can the Church be indifferent to this long-overdue demand by underprivileged peoples for a better human life; — not only because the Communists will change the social order if others do not, but because the Church must always walk in the footsteps of her Founder, Who during His days on earth loved and ministered to the whole man, body as well as soul. The time has come to attack the problem of the social apostolate in a scientific organized way. If we are to do this there should be in each mission area, as suggested by Bishop Blomjous, a group of well-trained specialists for whom the Social Apostolate is a full-time job.

The best way to implement this in practice would be to

provide each mission area with a Social Action Team which would settle in the locality, study its needs and possibilities carefully and then plan for the region's balanced development. The team should consist of specially trained missionaries and laymen. Ideally it would include an anthropologist-sociologist, a social-economist, an agricultural expert, a specialist in cooperatives and credit unions, and an expert in community development and planning, now a recognized specialty of its own. Where special needs require it an industrial relations expert should also be included. The provision of technicians for these teams would be one of the most valuable contributions which the Lay Mission Organizations, now springing up in so many countries, could make to the Church's social apostolate in mission lands.

The functions of the team would be the following:

(1) To provide assistance to missionaries in the field who desire to initiate programmes of social-economic betterment for their people; (2) to study and evaluate programmes already in force to see how

they might be made more effective and be integrated with programmes of broader scope ; (3) to establish liason with Governmental and private agencies working in the social-economic field, particularly in the field of community development, with a view to mutual integration of projects where this is possible and advantageous ; (4) eventually to work out a balanced social-economic programme for the mission area as a whole, or for appropriate subdivisions within it, and to initiate the demonstration and other projects required ; and (5) to train local persons who can carry on the projects after the team leaves or moves to another area. As much of this training as possible should be given in the field under the supervision of the team members.

Admittedly the provision of such teams is a rather ambitious programme which needs further study and careful consideration in the light of the needs and resources of particular mission areas. But it is important that the desirability of such an organized scientific approach be recognized and serious steps taken to put it into practice as soon as possible.

After so many statements of the Popes on the subject, it is now beyond dispute that the social apostolate is an integral part of the Church's work among men, and particularly in mission countries "where the charity of Christ urges us" more than elsewhere to work for a more just social-economic order. The problem now is to organize our work in this field as efficiently as possible, and to make it bear maximum fruit in the shortest possible time. The times call for a new instrument if our social work in mission areas is to become really effective. The rapid pace of social-economic change has enormously complicated the problem of the social apostolate, particularly in countries relying heavily on Community Development Programmes. In large measure these problems are beyond the power of individual overburdened missionaries to cope with. These missionaries need backing-up by full-time specialists. The Social Action Teams recommended here would provide this support, and are the new instrument needed if the Church's social apostolate is to bear real fruit in time — and time is growing short in some parts of the world.

THE MIND OF SOVIET YOUTH

J. Cleymans, S. J.*

EDITOR'S NOTE :— Elsewhere in this issue of Social Action there appears a summary of an important report on the present position of Religion in the Soviet Union. The following article by Father Cleymans explores another important aspect of Russian society, the mind of Soviet youth. It is based on a unique experiment which took place at the so-called World Festival of Youth held in Vienna last August. Reports such as these, based on first-hand observations by qualified persons, are of great value. Nothing is more important for international relations today than that the free peoples of the world gauge correctly the developments which are taking place within the Soviet Union. The USSR, more than any other single nation, holds the key to world peace and will influence to an increasing extent the trend of world events. It is important that we be as fully informed as possible on the present situation in Russia, on the mentality and attitudes of the Russian people and on the changes if any which are taking place within the Soviet system, especially those of a liberalizing nature. The article which follows should be read in conjunction with the discussion of Religion in the USSR which appears in the section Review of Reviews.

There is no originality in stating that the youth of a country constitutes its future ; nor in pointing out that the youth of India — at least a large section of the educated youth — feel strongly attracted to the USSR. It is interesting, therefore, to inquire how the youth of Russia feel about their own position within the Soviet system. A glimpse into the mind of Soviet youth is af-

* Father Cleymans is a member of the Social Institute in charge of Social Research.

forded by a privileged experiment which took place some nine months ago in Vienna at the so-called World Festival of Youth and Students. The experiment was reported on in "Problems of Youth in the USSR," an Information Bulletin published by the Union of Emigre Youth of the Peoples of the USSR.¹

The World Festival of Youth and Students was a Communist sponsored affair with obvious propaganda objectives. Its unique feature lies in the fact that contrary to previous practice, this Festival was held outside the Soviet Union. In doing this the Communists took some obvious risks. Austrian youth groups, for instance, were able to organize activities aimed at countering the Festival's real objectives. Sensing a unique opportunity to probe the mentality and attitudes of their youthful compatriots, the Union of Emigre Youth of the Peoples of the USSR also sent representatives to Vienna to

minge with members of the Soviet delegation and engage them in discussion. The rest of this article is a report on the impressions carried away from Vienna by the Union's representatives.

It may be objected at the outset that the Union's representatives, being refugees and voluntary exiles from the USSR, could not be objective in their reporting. This suspicion will be dispelled by a reading of the full report. The young intellectuals who make up the Union's membership are young people of ability and energy who have had the courage to leave Communist Russia to start over in foreign countries where they can enjoy greater freedom. They are a serious group who are still attached to their homeland. Their main objective is not propaganda but serious study of developments taking place in the USSR. At the Vienna Festival no attempt was made to influence the young Russian delegates. They were merely

1 Volume 2, No.2, December, 1959. The editor of the Bulletin is M. Tatschmurat, Munchen 34, Postschliezfach 95. This number of the Bulletin contains two sections closely related to one another, both of which should be read in full: (1) "Our Impressions at the Festival in Vienna"; and (2) "The Dual Personality of Contemporary Soviet Youth."

encouraged to reveal their real attitude toward the regime under which they live. Thus, when some of the young Russians became friendly with Union representatives and said, "We have talked with you more intimately than we sometimes do with our closest friends. Now you tell us what we are supposed to do," the Union representatives were instructed to reply: "Gather as much experience during this Vienna trip as possible and then act according to your conscience — but your human conscience, not that of the Party or Kom-somol." Being themselves youth who grew up under Communist education and training the Union's representatives were peculiarly well situated to evaluate the statements of the young Russian delegates. One aspect of the Report is, unfortunately, somewhat weaker: "All the names, positions and cities have been changed to protect the individuals involved." (Note. p. 1). Everyone will understand the reason for this. Nevertheless it makes checking very difficult and thus the indisputability of the assertions and consequently of the analysis itself is diminished. However,

it is stated that "the editors welcome requests for more detailed information on subjects discussed in these bulletins" (Cover note) and we have no doubt that they would furnish privately all the required proofs to bona-fide enquirers whose discretion is vouched for.

According to official figures, the delegation of the Soviet Union to the Festival numbered 916 people. "Friendly discussions" were conducted by the Union's representatives "with more than 400 young people from the Soviet Union during the ten day period of the Festival." In the text of the Report several specimens of conversations are submitted. Here we must content ourselves with stressing some of the implications and their significance for the youth of India. If after forty years of indoctrination the Soviet regime has not succeeded in giving its youth a satisfying view of life it is obviously senseless for Indian youth to want to go through the same frustrating process. It would also be a sad proof of the inadequacy of those responsible for youth in this country if they cannot convince them of the absurdity of trying once again the Soviet way.

The Russian Delegation

The Authors of the Report begin their study with a very enlightening distinction within the Soviet delegation based on the degree of "reliability" of the various groups from the Soviet point of view:

- (1) Delegation leaders;
- (2) Performers and athletes;
- (3) Participants in discussions and seminars
- (4) Overseers;
- (5) Labour brigade.

The observers also noticed a sixth group in addition to the official delegates, namely several hundred Soviet "tourists", mostly youth, who had also come to Vienna for the Festival. The observers discovered that five out of eight of these "tourists" were actually Komsomol functionaries, including members of the Komsomol Central Committee, first secretaries of Komsomol Committees of various Soviet republics, etc.

How politically "reliable", from the Soviet point of view, were the various groups within the Soviet delegation? The Delegation Leaders and the Overseers (numbering about 200) were entirely reliable. Their main function was to guard the other delegates from "undesirable contacts" and they handled their mission brilliantly. Their

vigilance during the course of the Festival never slackened. On the contrary it increased, reaching its zenith at the Festival's end. These leaders and overseers had no right to refer to themselves as "representatives" of Soviet youth, however, since they were middle-aged.

The performers and athletes, as well as the labour brigade, were not "reliable" at all, at least in a negative sense; they were not interested in politics. Their typical reaction to political questions was: "I am an athlete and do not care a rap for politics; I am a performer, not a politician; I cannot understand the connection between the arts and politics"; "My standpoint as a performer is that no political platform is applicable to the arts." If these utterances are typical of the general attitude of athletes and artists in Russia it is significant and indicates a great failure in Soviet propaganda which has constantly stressed the close relation which is supposed to exist between art, sports, etc. and politics. It would appear, judging from the close supervision exercised over them, that the participants were not

considered very reliable either. They were split up into groups of three or four, and besides the official overseers were supervised by specially appointed "Seniors" (man-in-charge). There was one Senior for each five to ten participants. It is significant that the authorities felt obliged to exercise such close regimentation and control over a group of youth obviously chosen with great care and hence presumably as "reliable" as any group that could be found. The general conclusion is quite clear: not only is intellectual freedom non-existent in the Soviet Union; but the propaganda which has been substituted for it has failed to take with sectors of Soviet youth.

Supervision

The fact above all others which should impress every young man and woman of the free world is the implacable, unceasing, close-guarded supervision of the young Russians sent to the Vienna Festival ostensibly to fraternize with other young people from all over the world. Only a few instances of such supervision can be mentioned, but these are enough to give some

idea of the straight jacket of coercion, threats and violence (Cf. p. 7 of the Report) thrown around the Soviet youth. Young minds subjected to such constant repression can only become robots or revolt; or become the "dual personalities" referred to in the second part of the Bulletin. We will return to this idea later.

The overseers concentrated most of their attention on the performers and athletes. Supervision was so rigid that the Union's representatives were able to establish only very few contacts with these groups. Members of the labour brigade were not permitted to leave the vehicles and equipment entrusted to them and the bus drivers even had to sleep in their busses. The participants, as already mentioned, were subdivided into small groups each of which was under the close and constant surveillance of a Senior. The "tourists" moved about always in groups of two to six, never alone. Each group also had its "Senior" who was responsible for keeping the group together. A second member of the group seems also to have been responsible

for surveillance of the group members, including the Senior. The young people were acutely aware of the close supervision being exercised over them. Because of this they were reluctant to sit in automobiles. When they did they remained silent during the entire ride, fearing that their conversation would be recorded on tape. This point is so revealing that it is worth quoting the following incident. One female tourist of a group of four with whom three young refugees had managed to establish especially close relations, said one day to one of the refugees: "Listen, Olga, we have been talking to you just like our closest friends. We could be brought to trial for just half of what we have said to you, perhaps you are even spies. You and your pocket book, for example, are inseparable. Don't be angry with me, please, if I ask you to show me what you have there." Olga, surprised at the request, opened her pocket book to prove that no tape recorder or other gadgets were concealed in it. "Then the tourist relaxed."

Close supervision and rigid organization also characterized the group discussions in

which Soviet delegates took part. All such discussions were conducted on a rigidly fixed pattern, and when the delegates had exhausted their supply of trite phrases they usually stated that they had no more time and had to leave. Whenever an overseer judged that the discussion was not in harmony with his interpretation he considered it his duty to interrupt. They did the same whenever they noticed persons speaking with Soviet delegates in one of the languages of the Soviet Union. The role of the "tourists" was to act as a buffer between the Soviet delegates and the Viennese people, particularly participants in the anti-Festival activities organized by Austrian youth. Some contacts were established between Union representatives and the so-called tourists, some of whom did not hesitate to express opinions which deviated from the Party line. Thus, in a meeting of some tourists with young refugees the question arose as to how much a good suit of clothes cost in Russia. One tourist maintained that it cost 500 to 600 rubles (the official position). Another broke in with the remark, "You can tell them that" (pointing to the

young refugees) "but not us. You can pour it on them as much as you want. Perhaps they will believe you. But I paid almost two months' wages in Moscow for this suit." (He earned about 1200 rubles a month.) Similarly, when a Komsomol Committee Secretary maintained that there were more automobiles in Moscow than in Vienna two tourists countered with scorn, "What do you mean more? Get off that propaganda horse. We will not have that many in fifty years."

One of the uglier aspects of the rigid supervision to which the young Russians were subjected in Vienna is the deception which it encouraged among them. When invited by Union representatives to take a night tour of Vienna one group of delegates debated the proposition at great length in a circumspect, roundabout way carefully sounding out the opinion of the "Senior" of the group. The final decision was to accept the invitation and say that they "got lost" to cover up their late return. Similar tactics were employed in passing around literature among themselves. The young delegates avidly sought all the

literature they could lay their hands on, one of the most sought after books being Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, and another *Technology of Power* written by an emigre from the Soviet Union, named Avtorkhanov. Djilas' *The New Class* was also much in demand. In answer to a cautiously phrased question as to whether they were afraid to take such literature some tourists answered: "Afraid of what? If they want to take it away let them. If they don't, then we'll read it at night. We always have an excuse that we don't know where the official Festival ends and the anti-Festival begins. The ones who are taking the literature away from us are often those who haven't managed to get any for themselves." When asked how they managed to pass such literature on to others they replied: "It's easy to pass it on. Usually when we are in our rooms reading at night we begin making comments in this way, 'Listen to the rubbish this author writes.' The others get interested and ask me what I am reading. I explain and then they ask me to give it to them when I'm finished. Of course, we can't take any

of it home with us — but there is much that causes one to think." By such devious methods must the inquiring mind of youth satisfy itself in the Soviet Union!

Views of Soviet Youth

When with infinite tact and patience the young refugees of the Union had succeeded in winning the confidence of "their countrymen of the Soviet Union" as they call the young Russians, what did they hear? Many of the Soviet youth conceded that they were not enthusiastic about the Communist system. They do not expect to reach any lofty heights through the "building of Communism" and consider any such hope as "utopian." Many made it plain, while not daring to put it in words, that they feel there is no real freedom in the USSR. Thus, when discussing *Doctor Zhivago* and the other books mentioned above with some young Austrians, one of the Russians was asked, "But what is your opinion?" At first he tried to evade the question but finally said, "please do not force me to say something which might endanger me later." The Austrian pressed the point: "But you admit

that you have no freedom." The Russian turned to the interpreter (a young refugee) and said, "Please explain to him that I have gone as far as I can possibly go in giving him an affirmative answer. It should be clear by now."

When questioned about life in the Soviet Union they replied that the situation had improved considerably, although even now many goods were not available in sufficient quantities. They said that the feeling of terror, characteristic of the Stalin era, had passed. Yet, they added, one cannot yet say that there is open criticism of the Party and the Government.

On the subject of religion the young Russians usually kept silent. The typical reply when this question was introduced was, "We had better not talk about this subject. I don't believe in any God and you won't change my mind."

In general, the dominant impression left was that the young people of the Soviet Union are living a rather empty life and that the overwhelming majority of their interests, which are the interests of any young genera-

tion, are being sacrificed to the "building of Communism." This causes a feeling of hopelessness and frustration which drives many to alcohol, a problem with which the Soviet press has been much concerned the past 18 months. Sitting in a cafe with a group of young Russians one day, a Union representative remarked to one of them, "You like your alcohol, I notice." "Ah, Mashenka," was the reply, "you naturally don't understand why. That is the only way we can look at each other with the masks off. When we gather together — I'm referring to very good friends — of course — we can drink and face the naked truth without those masks. Then we can speak our minds." This expresses perfectly the "dual personality" which the Soviet system is generating in Soviet youth: that is, the permanent conflict between formal, external adaptation to the system and their inner doubts and miseries which burden their real feelings and weigh on their consciences. In the words of the Report:

"The first personality is an extrovert, representative and formal; the second an introvert, taciturn, but

genuine. The latter suppresses his feelings and thoughts and tries to conceal his pains and miseries. The individual is forced to be unassuming and to adapt himself, at least outwardly to the system. This 'dual personality' is thoroughly characteristic of contemporary man, and the younger generation especially. This type of individual is formed as a result of the contradictions within Communist ideology. It is the result of a long period of living under a state order where subjective personalities 'must' but cannot 'wish' or 'want'".

From this moving experiment carried out, so to say, on the living body and soul of actual Soviet youth by persons peculiarly qualified to do it, two inescapable conclusions emerge: (1) There is undeniable, if incomplete, evidence of a spirit of intellectual enquiry and non-conformity in the present generation of young Russians. This means that the gigantic effort of the Soviet educational system to produce the type of man the Party desires has failed; and this after forty years of almost un-

limited power. What has been produced is a psychological monster, the "dual personality." It would be tragic, as H. S. Watson has observed, "if, when in some years time this generation reaches positions of power in the Soviet Union, it should be as incapable of understanding the people and societies of the West as is the generation of Mr. Krushev."² (2) It would be criminal folly for anyone in authority in the free countries of the world not to do everything possible to prevent the poisoning of the mind of our youth by a system that has killed the soul of its own children.

There is a lesson in all this for our Indian students also. We hear growing complaints in the country concerning student indiscipline and rowdiness. At the same time it is said that many of our students have strong Communist leanings. Two explanations are possible. Either this indiscipline and rowdiness are not spontaneous

but are coldly willed and directed by Communist leaders to upset the system and hasten its breakdown, or the students are not simply instruments in Communist hands but merely vaguely and emotionally attracted toward the system. If the first hypothesis is true, Indian students show their naivete and ignorance of what Communism implies for the younger generation of a country and would do well to ponder on Soviet youth's view of its own situation as revealed at Vienna. If the second explanation is true, rowdy students should reflect on the ludicrous shameful-ness of their contradictory attitude: on the one hand they misuse the freedom of a democratic society to weaken that society by behaving like barbarous adolescents; and on the other they are emotionally attracted toward a totalitarian system which would force them unrelentingly into slavish submission, even submission of mind and all.

² H. Seton Watson, *Soviet and Western Propaganda*. (A word of the Spirit Pamphlet) p. 8.

THE PROGRESS OF INDIA & CHINA

W. E. D'Souza

During the past year many articles have appeared in the French press on the subject of India's and China's economic progress. Among others, Robert Guillaín, the well-known French writer on Far Eastern affairs, wrote several articles on China in *Le Monde*.¹ In the same journal, Tibor Mende, another widely travelled journalist, also gave his impressions of Indian and Chinese progress on the occasion of the anniversaries of the two countries.² *France Observateur* for July 19th, 1959 also published a rather long dialogue, in which four Far Eastern observers participated, on the relative progress made by India and China.

That observers the world over should be watching with great interest the comparative progress of these two countries should occasion no surprise.

The outcome of the competition in the sphere of economic development which is taking place between the world's two most populous countries will have profound repercussions on the uncommitted nations of the world. Both India and China have the same basic economic problems and both have announced their determination to solve them as quickly as possible. They have begun their development from approximately the same level and at almost the same time. But they have chosen radically different methods for developing their respective economies. India has chosen the democratic way, China the totalitarian way. As a result, it is these two basically different ways of organizing human society which are now on trial in the economic sphere, and there is danger that the pace of economic

¹ *Le Monde*, April 9, 10, 11 & 12 and October 2, 1959.

² *Ibid.*, July 9, 10, 11 & 12; September 29 & 30; and October 1 & 3, 1959.

development in the two countries will be interpreted by other Asian nations as an indication of the relative merits of the two political systems. This article summarizes the background of this all-important contest between the two "giants of Asia" and their progress to date. The data are taken from various analyses by in-

dependent observers as well as from official Government sources. Admittedly, the data relating to Chinese development must be accepted with cautious reservation. Even taking this into account, however, it is possible to draw some useful conclusions regarding the country's progress since the Communists took control in 1949.

I. The Inherited Economies

The present Government of India was established in 1947 after India achieved her independence by peaceful means. In China the new Government was installed in 1949 after a long and bloody revolution carried out by the Communists. Both Governments inherited economies with very similar problems. Each had a very low national income and an extremely poor standard of living in comparison with the advanced countries of the West. Such industry as there was, was limited for the most part to the field of light consumer goods, and especially textile manufacture. Transportation and communications in both countries were woefully inadequate. Both countries were predominantly agricultural and suppliers of raw materials

for more advanced countries. In both countries the agricultural economy was weighed down by primitive methods of cultivation, high rents, a serious tenancy problem and land fragmentation. Population pressure, finally was a serious problem for both countries as were periodic famines, floods, soil erosion, epidemics and drought.

In each country, furthermore, the new governments had to cope with phenomenal economic dislocations. In India, the partition of the country disrupted communication, industry and agriculture, and burdened the economy with the problem of feeding and housing five million refugees. To quote but one important statistic: India received a large share

of the former industry, but she got less than 70% of the former agricultural area to supply the needs of 82% of the antecedent population. In China, the civil war had dislocated all segments of the national economy. During the Second World War, moreover, the Russians took much of the equipment of the heavy industry in Manchuria. Total losses amounted to 90% of the productive capacity of the metal industry and 70% of the coal, electrical and steel industries.

1. Industrial Potential

Both India and China have great potentialities for industrialisation. They both possess sufficient mineral resources of coal, iron and alloy minerals.

India's coal reserves are estimated in the range of 43,000 to 60,000 million metric tons; and iron ore reserves at 10,000 million metric tons. For China the figures are 250,000 to 275,000 million metric tons of coal reserves and 2,500 to 5,000 million metric tons of iron ore. Though China has fantastic coal reserves in relation to India, she has a relative lack of coking coal. India's supply

of high grade iron ore is among the world's largest, the iron ore content of India's iron ore being over 60%. In China, high grade iron ore is not plentiful. Besides, in direct contrast to India, her iron and coal deposits are not found together, which entails costly transportation to centres of industry.

India exports large quantities of mica, manganese; China tin, wolfram, and antimony. China has limited production of lead, zinc, gold, silver; India of bauxite, copper. India is deficient in tin, lead, zinc; China in copper.

2. Industry

From the standpoint of industrial development, Prof. W. W. Rostow places India in 1945 on a par with China in 1949, Japan in 1925, Russia in 1913 and the U. S. A. in 1870. Here again both India and China share a number of characteristics. There is a relative absence of heavy industries such as metallurgical and chemical works. Some consumer goods factories are present; but predominant are the processing industries engaged in treating mineral and agricultural products for export, including

textiles. In both countries there is a prevalence of village handicraft industries. In short, in neither country is the development commensurate with the size, population and natural resources. India's modern industry at its peak employed less than 2 million workers, China's probably 3 million.

3. Agriculture

Both countries are mainly agricultural. In India 70% of the population is engaged in agriculture; in China, 75%. In 1948-49, 50% of India's net national product came from agriculture; for China in 1946, 62.7%. In both countries a variety of food and commercial crops are grown, but in neither country has the farmer been able to accumulate substantial savings; farms are small and get smaller because of sub-division and fragmentation. Rents paid by tenants are high in both countries, approximately 50% of the crop produced. Large scale irrigation, mechanized farming, scientific methods of agriculture are lacking in both countries. Neither India nor China was self sufficient in foods and in both countries population increased faster than food.

India's yield per acre was (and is) much less than that of China. In 1947-48, India's average yield of rice was 739 lbs per acre, China's 2,433 lbs. For wheat the yields are 599 lbs and 898 lbs respectively. The caloric content of food consumed per person per day in India is also less than in China. In 1949-50 it was 1,702 calories for India, for China 2,020. In terms of persons per square mile of cultivated land the 1941 population density figures for India was 535, whereas for China it was 1,485.

4. Per capita income

In a general way the per capita income indicates the standard of living which the two governments today are making such prodigious efforts to improve. The U. N. studies for 1949 give the per capita income for India and China as Rs. 285 and Rs. 135 respectively.

5. Transport

The means of communication for the 550,000 villages of India and 700,000 of China were poor. The railway and highway communications were underdeveloped; but India was ahead of China. In 1948 India had 24,560 miles

of railway, China 5,000. In 91,857 miles of highway, the same year India had China 22,553.

II. Economic Planning and Progress

While the economic problems of the two countries are largely similar, the methods employed for solving them could hardly be more dissimilar. India believes in a free, democratic, planned, economy; China in an out-and-out totalitarian one. India seeks to maintain links with her past heritage; China is building a new nation which is a drastic break with her immediate past.

1. India

Throughout the development of the First Five-Year Plan, 1951-56, democratic procedures and objectives were stressed. Not merely material goods but also social services were given priority. The draft outline of the First Plan defined economic progress in clear humanitarian terms: "Firstly, there is a greater awareness of an insistence on certain basic values. Economic progress is therefore interpreted to mean much more than the building up of an efficient apparatus for production of material goods; it means also the provision of social services, the

widening of opportunities for the common man and social equality and justice."

The Plan also recognised that spectacular progress could not be made in the initial period. Total investment in the economy for the 5-year period was Rs. 3,100 crores. In broad features the plan envisaged a total increase of 11% in the national income, a rate of investment increase from 5% to 6.7% of the national income, an increase of 20% in foodgrains. On the whole the First Plan can be said to have succeeded.

In the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) the same democratic procedures and social priorities as stated in the First Plan were stressed. India seeks to establish "the socialist pattern of society". The avowed objectives of the second 5-year plan "is not merely one of raising living standards but of generating a dynamism in the economy which will lift it to continually higher levels of material well-being and of intellectual and cultural

achievements. A rising standard of material welfare is not an end in itself; it is essentially a means to a better and fuller life." (*Summary of the second 5-year plan*, pg. 9)

This plan, in contrast to the first, laid emphasis on industry. It envisaged a total investment of Rs. 6,200 crores in the economy, of which Rs. 4,800 crores was to be invested in the public sector. (*Summary*, p. 22). As a result of the rise in world prices, the government had to add some Rs. 300 crores to the total outlay. The national income was expected to increase at the rate of 5% a year, the rate of investment at the end of the 5-year period was expected to be 10.7%, the overall agricultural output was to be increased by 20% with an increase of 15% in the production of food grains.

As the 5-year period draws to an end, observers are of the opinion that the industrial part of the plan is assured. Iron and Steel factories, petroleum refineries, electric power installations and atomic reactors have been established as envisioned in the Plan. In 1958 India har-

vested 70 million tons of food grains. But as a result of the slight world recession, the industrial development which was 8% in 1955 dropped to 3.5% for 1957 and 1958. On the side of social services, progress has been maintained. After seven years of its existence, the Community Development Programme now touches 339,734 villages (*Indiagram*, 6, Nov. 1959), and today 40 million children of school going age are attending school.

2. China

China's first 5-year plan, which covers the period 1953-1957 inclusive, was put into effect four years after the Communists took control. The total amount invested in the economy was 76,640 million yuan (Rs. 15,328 crores @ 1 yuan = Rs. 2). Of this 42,740 million yuan (Rs. 8,548 crores) was invested in capital formation. The remaining 33,900 million yuan (Rs. 6780 crores) was allocated to activities in support of capital construction. Of the total investment in industrial capital construction, 88.8% went to heavy industry (which is more than the reported Russian allocation of 85.9% in their first 5-year plan), and 11.2% to

light industry producing consumer goods. In the first 5-year plan there was a lack of emphasis on agricultural development to which was allocated only 7.6% of the total expenditure, but at the same time an overall increase of 23.3% was to be attained.

Since 1957 China is concentrating on specific one-year targets. The year 1958 was marked by the establishment of the "Commune system" and the cry "Leap Forward". To provide work for surplus man power and to accelerate the rhythm of progress, China started making steel by costly backyard methods. It is reported that 50 million labourers were mobilised, but the operation produced only 3 million tons of steel of bad quality which were barely adequate for simple rural and agricultural

implements. In 1959 she is reported to have introduced 1,000 miniature petrol refineries sufficient to supply all local needs.

For 1959, the statistics of production are given as follows: 13 million tons of steel, 335 million tons of coal, 39,000 million kilo watts hours of electric energy. The rail way network now covers 20,800 miles and highways 260,000 miles. There are today 26,000 agricultural communes and 700,000 agricultural co-operatives. Total production of food grains in 1959 was 275 million tons. The proportion of irrigated land to cultivated land has passed from 16.3% in 1949 to 59.5% in 1959. (*Perspectives*, 5 Dec. 1959). Besides, there are today a 100 million Chinese receiving some form of school education.³

III. Comparison of the Progress made :

A comparison of the progress made since 1948 in certain basic items of the economy in the two countries reveals to a large extent a number of interesting facts.

³ Chinese statistical claims must be accepted with a great deal of caution. An original claim for example that food grain production in 1958 reached a level of 375 million tons was later revised downward to 250 million tons, the error being blamed on "lack of experience in assessing and calculating output." There is evidence that even the lower figure is greatly exaggerated. (Cf. *Social Action*, November, 1959, p. 495.) — *Editor's Note*.

A look at the table below shows that China got off to a late start, but she seems to have more than caught up al-

ready. The 1961 figures for India are the target figures of the second 5-year plan.

YEAR	INDIA			CHINA		
	1948	1956	1961	1948	1957	1959
Population (million) ...	320	392	431	470	642	670
Income per head (Rs.) ...	285	325	350	135	300	380
Steel (mill. tons) ...	0.9	1.65	6.0	0.5	4.1	13.0 §
Electric power (million kil. watt. hours.) ...	5,440	11,000	20,000	6,000	19,000	39,000
Railways (miles) ...	24,560	35,000	35,000 +	5,000	11,200	20,800
Highways (miles) ...	91,857	120,000	139,000	22,553	28,753	260,000
Cement (mill. tons) ...	2.0	4.5	13.0	0.7	6.0	8.0
Coal (mill. tons) ...	30.5	38.0	60.0	19.4	270.0	335.0
Irrigation (mill. acres) ...	50.0	67.0	88.0	32.0	40.0	120.0
Food grains (mill. tons) ...	54.0	65.0	75.0	90.0	185.0	275.0
Rate of investments (% of G. N. P.) ...	—	7.3%	10.7%	—	14.0%	17%

(§) Steel produced by backyard methods not included.

(+) The Second Five-Year Plan provided for renewal and doubling of the rail track; no overall extension.

It must be noted at the outset that it is very difficult to make a precise comparison of the relative progress made by India and China. For their basic economic philosophies are totally different. India emphasises widespread diffusion of economic benefits; China capital investment and industrialisation virtually excluding consumer goods. India's planning functions within the framework of a free and democratic society, which, as the authors of the First Plan affirmed, is apt "to slow down the pace of change." China on the other hand proceeds along rigid

totalitarian lines and can maintain a high tempo of economic progress. Contrary to India, China seeks to build up "an efficient apparatus for production of material goods". With this sole end in view she has adopted mass indoctrination, mass shock treatment, mass liquidation. The forced labour and ruthless liquidation of the upper classes has enabled China to maintain a high investment ratio. Prof. W. W. Rostow estimates it at 12% in 1952 and 20% for 1962. India, however, expects to attain 17% only in 1976 and moreover does not intend to exceed this ratio. (*Summary Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 4) Again, unlike in India, there is ab-

solutely no private investment in China, and she could invest during her first 5-year plan one and half times more than India could in both her 5-year plans. Hence in absolute figures China has been making quicker progress than India; but since China has a bigger population these absolute figures, if reduced to per capita output, look quite different.

The difference in the manner of attaining the economic objectives as proposed by the two countries is reflected in a comparison of the percentage distribution of expenditure for the various sectors of the economy as a whole:

	INDIA 1951-56	CHINA 1953-57	INDIA 1956-61
Agriculture ...	17.5	7.6	11.8
Irrigation ...	21.0	—	10.1
Power ...	6.1	—	8.9
Communication ...	24.0	19.2	28.9
Industry ...	8.4	58.2	18.5
Public Utilities & Stock piling ...	—	6.7	—
Social Services ...	16.4	7.2	17.8
Rehabilitation (refugees) ...	4.1	—	1.9
Miscellaneous ...	2.5	1.1	2.1

China is apparently following the classic Marxist economic doctrine of accentuating only industry and national interest. In her first 5-year plan China devoted nothing to irrigation, in direct opposition to India. The authors of an interesting study on *The Economic development in India and China* in the *Final Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations* (1957) (U. S. A.) are of the opinion that "India has already made great advances in large multipurpose river-development schemes, while China for the most part has only conducted surveys and developed blueprints China's interim effort to control floods... does not lend itself to comparison with India's development of multipurpose dams and canal systems." (p. 394)

The same authors think that "in the short run, the difference of approach suggests that China will make greater progress in terms of gross national product but India will make greater progress in terms of a rising standard of living." (p. 344). All observers agree that all things considered India has made considerable progress. Any visitor can see important industrial centres, naval yards, scientific institutions rising in different parts of the country. If India's progress seems to be less than that of China it must be remembered that all this has been achieved without purges, with no secret police, without any brain-washing, with absolutely no coercion, nor as even T. Mende admits "by any beating up of emotions against the West" (*Le Monde*, 10 July, 1959), but only by persuasion.

IV. Concluding Remarks

It is possible that "the condition of life on the whole for the Chinese is better than that of their neighbours, the Indians and the Indonesians" (T. Mende, *Le Monde*, 2 Oct. 1959). But if China is making progress against old problems such as epidemics, famines,

floods, inflation, internal wars, it is only by introducing oppression, forced labour, rationing, and many privations, including the privation of human liberty. On the tenth anniversary of the people's Republic of China the Vatican Radio declared: "One can-

not deny that, in spite of errors in statistics and exaggeration for the sake of propaganda, remarkable economic and industrial realities have been obtained during these ten years." "But", added the commentator, "these conquests have been the fruit of an inhuman effort. All personal initiative has been snuffed off, every form of liberty suppressed, all human value has disappeared." The tragedy is summed up by R. Guillaing as follows : "The Chinese, the most humane and the most intelligent of men, know, that in order that China may get out from misery, it is not necessary to violate this intelligence and this humanness." (*Le Monde*, Oct. 2, 1959)

As regards India, many observers, a few years ago, had long predicted the end of liberty and democracy. But now, more and more, critics are coming to realise the role that India has to play in the free world. One of them, T. Mende, writes : "The critics accept that they are wrong. The West admits, without much good grace, that India is her last card in Asia. What is more, it seems that the Indian experiment of

democratic planning can furnish to underdeveloped countries a solution other than the unexportable Western economic liberalism and the apparently irresistible success of the Sino-Soviet bloc in the domain of auto-Industrialisation.... a rather flattering picture but not entirely unjustifiable" (*Le Monde*, July 10, 1959).

In speaking of the forms of state organisation necessary for new nations to make economic progress, Prof. W. W. Rostov maintains that "the central challenge of our time, (is) the challenge of creating, in association with the leaders and peoples of early take-off areas, a partnership which will see them through into sustained growth on a basis which keeps open the possibility of democratic development." (*The Economist*, Aug. 22, 1959 pg. 530). Now, if India can succeed in solving her mighty problems in the democratic way she will surely be meeting this central challenge of modern times.

India's problems are only too apparent. One of them was stated in the *Summary of the First Five-Year Plan* :

"For democratic planning to succeed, it will have to energize the entire community and to place before it a goal of endeavour which will call forth all its latent creative urges. The crucial factor here is leadership, not merely leadership at the top but at all levels." Can India get this leadership at all levels? Will she be able to increase capital investment without sacrificing democratic processes? Will she succeed quickly enough in getting modern technique down to the peasants so that growth in good supply will outstrip increase in population? Can she utilise to best advantage her enormous unused potential, while at the same time

preserving the liberty of the individual.

Prof. Rostow is of the emphatic opinion that the broad pattern of Russian economic growth does not much differ from that of Western Europe and the U.S.A. (*Economist*, Aug. 15, 1959, p. 414). Could one be justified in holding the same opinion for the progress of India and China? But, after all is said and done, if India should fall seriously behind China in her economic development, or if there is a breakdown in her economic progress, it may reasonably be assumed that far reaching political exchanges will result in India, the consequences of which are incalculable for India and the free world.

WAGE BOARDS IN INDIA

A. Fonseca *

The Wage Board is a comparatively recent creation for the determination of wages, not over the whole field of industrial or agricultural employment, but of certain sectors where labour is likely to be exploited. Originating in Australia, where they were introduced in 1896 to stop sweating in industries where workers were either unorganised, or where they were too small or too weak, Wage Boards have been established in different countries of the world, not precisely on the same pattern however, but accommodated to suit the needs and the peculiar circumstances and conditions of each country. Essentially the system of Wage Boards attempts to bring together the representatives of both management and labour at the same table with a few other independent members in order to encourage the parties to settle their disputes

amicably in relation to the needs of their own industry. In this way, Wage Boards tend to encourage collective bargaining between the management and the employees, and are therefore regarded with favour by modern Governments that prefer not to interfere directly in the disputes within a concern, but rather to encourage the parties to settle them by mutual agreement and consent.

Wage Boards in India

Wage Boards have been established in India for the Cotton Textile Industry, the Cement Industry, the Sugar Industry and for working journalists. The Boards are appointed by the Government of India and usually consists of seven members, two of them are representatives of management, two of labour, two independent members and one chairman. The terms

* Fr. Fonseca, a member of the Social Institute, is a specialist in Industrial Relations questions, a Field in which he has had long experience.

of reference of the Wage Board are generally as follows :

- (a) To determine the categories of employees, (manual, clerical, supervisory, etc.) who should be brought within the scope of the proposed wage fixation ;
- (b) To work out a wage structure based on the principles of fair wages as set forth in the report of the Committee on Fair Wages ;
- (c) To consider the desirability of extending the system of payment by results ; and
- (d) to work out the principles that should govern the grant of bonus to workers in the (specific) industry.

While evolving the wage structure, the Board is also expected to take into account the needs of the (specific) industry in a developing economy, the special features of the industry, the requirements of social justice, and the need for adjusting wage differentials in such a manner as to provide incentives to workers for advancing

their skill. In applying the system of payments by results, the Board is expected to keep in view the need for fixing the minimum (fall-back) wage, and for safeguarding against overwork and undue speed.

Once it has handed in its report to the Government, its recommendations must either be accepted *in toto* and statutorily imposed on the industry in question, or partly accepted, or rejected. But this final alternative will not be chosen unless the Report submitted by the Board reflects great diversity of opinion among the members.

It is obvious that the terms of reference have been worded to suit conditions and problems facing Indian industrial enterprises in recent times, and against the background of recent labour legislation in the country.

The Questionnaire

In order to facilitate the determination of wages at a fair and just level, the Boards circulate a prepared questionnaire to the representatives of the management and the employees. The questionnaire is a detailed one, requiring in-

formation on what should be considered a fair wage to various categories of workers, such as the unskilled, the clerks, the supervisors, and any other distinctive group of workmen in the industry. Details of the cost of living is sought to be obtained to satisfy the norms of living as defined by the 15th Session of the Indian Labour Conference. Regional differences are expected to be taken into consideration. The minimum, the fair and the living wage as outlined by the Fair Wages Committee have to be spelled out in terms of monetary units in the particular industry. Wages must be joined with productivity of labour. How should this be done? How are workloads that are suitable to the strength and capacity of the average worker to be ascertained? What about regional differences in wages? How should wages be related to the national income of the country? What about the capacity of the industry to pay such wages? In this context, what are the prospects of the industry and what is its place in a developing economy?

The next series of questions deals with wage dif-

ferentials within the industry and between different industries, the grounds for such differences, and the erection of a wage structure different from the prevailing one.

Finally there is the question of relating wages to efficiency in the industry, and the financial position of the industry as effected by the economic changes in the country.

While the questionnaire has a very wide coverage and touches all the controversial points at issue regarding the wage and the wage structure in the prevailing industrial climate, it does give rise to widely diversified opinions between management and union. Even to calculate the minimum wage in the industry according to the norms accepted unanimously by the representatives of management and the unions and the Government at the 15th session of the Indian Labour Conference, quite a variety of different figures are proposed. For instance, while the employers in the Cotton Textile Industry attempt to prove that the minimum basic wage for an unskilled worker should be Rs. 97—6 as., the

Indian National Textile Workers' Federation draw a distinction between what they term an 'adequate' and a 'balanced' diet. The former barely maintains health, while the latter provides an optimum diet which provides for the functioning of the various life processes at peak levels. However, when calculating the minimum basic wage required by the worker, the Federation arrives at the figure of Rs. 149.95 in Bombay City. During the discussion of the Board members, these two divergent indices of minimum basic needs will have to find a common level that will be acceptable to both management and labour.

Collective Bargaining

Because the field covered by the questionnaire is so wide, there is considerable room for bargaining on either side. If management is adamant on wages, fringe benefits can be enlarged, and if the workers' representatives feel strongly on the minimum basic wage, the dearness allowance may be reshaped to adjust the situation to management's complaints of inability to pay. But obviously if the Wage Board system of adjusting wages and dif-

ferentials is to succeed, both management and labour must come prepared to compromise and yield and with the skill for driving a good bargain. Merely presenting a set of demands to each other without the readiness to adjust to each other's needs can only lead to a breakdown of the negotiations, and a report to Government marked by several notes of dissent.

Working Journalists

In the case of the working Journalists, while the recommendations of the Board were unanimous and accepted by the representatives of both management and labour who participated in the discussions of the wage board, no sooner had the decisions been published than the employers took the cause to the Supreme Court and won a decision in their favour, by which they were exempted from paying the new wage scales recommended by the Wage Board and imposed by the Government. This was a bitter pill to the employees who had placed all their hopes on the decisions of the Wage Board. But the Court allowed the plea of the managements of publishing and newspaper concerns that the Wage Board

had not sufficiently considered their capacity or their inability to pay the scales of wages and salaries recommended. But if the decisions of the Wage Board can thus be rescinded by the Supreme Court, there is hardly place for encouraging collective bargaining at the level of the Board.

Working Journalists

The Wage Board for working journalists was set up by Parliament, when it placed the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act on the Statute Book before the end of 1955. This was the first statutory wage board to be established in India. Though working journalists could have settled their conditions of service through industrial adjudication — which is the usual procedure for all workmen, — Parliament preferred to lay down minimum conditions of service, leaving the question of wages to be determined by the Wage Board. When the Wage Board's decisions were published in May, 1957, the newspaper owners challenged the validity of both the Act as well as the decisions of the Board before the Supreme

Court. The judgement of the Supreme Court is an interesting document that throws much light on the status of the Wage Board in law and of the legality and the compulsion of its decisions.

The newspaper proprietors alleged that the Act establishing the Board was unconstitutional, since it denied them their fundamental rights under the Constitution, specifically the right to freedom of speech and expression, the right to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business, and the right to appeal to the Supreme Court to defend their fundamental rights. Further, they contended that the decisions of the Wage Board were illegal because there had been a change of members during the Board's sittings. This they held to be unconstitutional and unauthorised by the Act. More to the point was the complaint that the Board had exceeded its terms of reference by giving no reasons for its decisions, passing its decisions by a majority, classifying the newspaper companies on the basis of gross revenue, giving a decision which was retrospective in

operation, fixing scales of pay for three years, and determining the salaries of journalists on an All-India basis for all newspapers taken together.

In discussing these various charges, the Supreme Court among other important issues, took up the question of the status of the Wage Board as enunciated in the establishing Act. Had the Board a Legislative character or a Judicial one? The Supreme Court found that the constitution by the Legislature of the Wage Board in the matter of the fixation of rates of wages was not considered as a piece of delegated legislation. On the contrary, viewed against the background of the application of the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act to working journalists, and the provisions for the exercise of the same powers and following the same procedure as an Industrial Tribunal constituted under the Industrial Disputes Act, the Wage Board appears to be exercising functions which were quasi-judicial in character.

Indeed, as the Supreme Court pointed out, the decisions of the Wage Board were not to be laid before the

Houses of Parliament which would have been the case if the fixation of rates of wages had been regarded as a piece of delegated legislation. But the Wage Boards are rather responsible bodies entrusted with the task of gathering data and materials relevant for the determination of the issues arising before them. They are administrative agencies and can elicit all relevant information and invite answers to the questionnaires they circulate to both parties of an industry, receive representations from the parties concerned, hear evidence and arrive at their decisions always bearing in mind the principles of natural justice. Section II of the Industrial Disputes Act, which outlines the powers and procedure of the Board, permits the Board to follow the procedure it prefers, allows it to exercise the same powers and follow the same procedure in giving its decisions as an Industrial Tribunal Constituted under the Industrial Disputes Act. In view of this provision, the Supreme Court felt that the intention of the Legislature was to assimilate the Wage Board thus constituted as much as possible to an Industrial Tribunal constituted

under the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, by which the decisions of the Board were to be binding on all employers, though the working journalists were at liberty to agitate further for a favourable decision in their regard under the Industrial Disputes Act if they were not satisfied with the decision of the Wage Board. The only limit the Supreme Court could envisage in the activity of the Wage Board was the adoption of any arbitrary procedure violating the principles of natural justice.

Capacity to Pay

One of the important issues on which the Supreme Court agreed with the petitioners was that the Wage Board had not taken into sufficient consideration the capacity of the Newspaper Industry to pay the rates and scales of wages it had imposed on the Industry. In this way a fundamental right of the proprietors of newspapers was being infringed, viz. the right to carry on their business. For if the wages imposed were too great a burden on the financial capacity of the concern, it would have to close down. Balance sheets even if not too reliable had

to be taken into consideration.

But the great difficulty for the Wage Board was to secure reliable information regarding the financial position of the Industry. The presence of representatives of employees on the Board who refused to accept the statements of management at their face value led to a breakdown of negotiations at the Board level. So that even before the decisions of the Wage Board were published, it was obvious that management would not agree to implement them.

Quasi-Judicial

The real crux of the problem regarding the Wage Board is whether the Board is a kind of judicial triumvirate representing the interests of management, labour and a third independent party, who are to sit in judgement over the issue of wages within an industry, or is the purpose of the Board to enable management and labour representatives to meet each other, to know each other and thus to settle their disputes amicably. The Supreme Court seems to have taken the view that the

Wage Board has a judicial character where issues have to be decided in the light of natural justice, rather than a private forum for bargaining with the independent members acting as brokers of goodwill and amity. But this purpose is very difficult to secure where the interests of management and labour are equally represented and when they sit on the same bench as it were in judgement on their own evidence. The Court has surely been led into this deceptive conclusion by the way the terms of reference of the Wage Board have been worded, and the entire set-up of the Board on the model of the Industrial Tribunal.

Judgement

The judgement of the Supreme Court declaring the decisions of the Wage Board to be illegal and void has been a blow to labour and the Labour Ministry of the Indian Government which had placed great hopes on getting the two parties in industry to settle their own quarrels without outside interference and to their own satisfaction. The basis for such a drastic decision was the absence of any attempt by the Board to

investigate the paying capacity of the industrial establishments before fixing wages. The Supreme Court felt that this was an essential condition for a fair and just determination of the amount of wages that could be imposed. The Act however by which the Wage Board was established was held to be valid, except for Section 5(1) (a) (iii) of the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1955 by which a working journalist who resigned after three years of service was to be paid gratuity, being declared *ultra vires*.

It is to be further noted that while discussing the method of procedure followed at the meetings of the Wage Board, the Supreme Court took objection to the Chairman's attempt to reconcile the opposing claims of labour and management, without first attempting to discover the capacity of the industry to pay. The learned judges seem to have misunderstood the essential purpose of the Wage Board. The Wage Board is not a Court of Law. But, like all other institutions aimed at achieving industrial

peace, the representatives of both management and labour must be infused with a preliminary readiness to work together, to learn to trust each other and be determined to respect the rights and fulfil the duties towards each

other. Without this underlying attitude of mind, no amount of legislation or social institutions erected by legislation can achieve what we all so greatly desire, peace, in industry.

THEORY TO PRACTICE*

I. THE CATHOLIC COOPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETY OF RANCHI

There is an acute need in India for cooperative credit societies, particularly in rural areas. Credit is the life-blood of agriculture. Without sufficient credit obtainable at reasonable rates of interest cultivators cannot obtain the seed, fertilizer and other materials they need or market their crops in a way which will ensure a fair return. The corollary of insufficient credit institutions in rural areas is the money-lender and the veritable bondage which he brings to the peasant. At the present time, approximately 85% of all agricultural credit in India is still supplied by money-lenders and merchants who fulfil the money-lending function. Rates of interest are usurious and peasants are soon weighed down by a burden of debt from which

they can never hope to escape. Being in debt, the cultivator is forced to sell his produce to his creditor at harvest time when prices are lowest. At sowing time he usually buys his needed supplies from the same man at prices higher than necessary. His poverty deepens, hope vanishes and incentive as well as the means to improve his farm gradually disappear. There is no doubt that the heavy debt burden which weighs on India's peasants is a factor in the country's low agricultural productivity.

The problem of the rural money lender is one of the most difficult social and economic problems to solve, as is evidenced by the slow progress the Government is making in this area despite the

* Theory without practice is sterile; practice without theory is ineffective. A bridge must be built between the two, between social theory and social action. In this section each month we shall give short accounts of successful projects which have bridged the gap between theory and practice. Contributions of approximately 1300 words are invited. Send to The Editor, Social Action, 13 Boat Club Road, Poona-1.

strenuous efforts it is making to strengthen the cooperative movement and increase the rural branches of the State Bank of India. At every turn efforts in this field run up against the opposition of vested interests and other complex and long-standing problems. But the problem is not impossible of solution. This is shown by the experience of the Catholic Cooperative Society of Ranchi. This Society, which is now one of the most famous rural banks in the world, has just completed fifty years of service to the Adivasi farmers of the Chotanagpur region, which makes this an appropriate time to outline its history and methods for the benefit of others. Institutions which succeed in one place do not necessarily succeed in another, and blind attempts to transplant an organizational method without necessary adaptations can be fatal. Certain conditions which are not found elsewhere undoubtedly contributed to the success of the Ranchi experiment, the most important of which was the large, well-knit Catholic population of the area. But there are also other areas with large concentrations of Catholics where

a similar institution can flourish. And it may be that adaptations of the method can be made to areas where Catholics are fewer. The Ranchi Society is itself an adaptation of the Raiffeisen societies of Europe. Because of these facts it is worthwhile reviewing the experience of this extremely successful credit society.

The Catholic Cooperative Credit Society of Ranchi is the creation of one man, Fr. John-Baptist Hoffmann, S.J., a German Jesuit. Sent back to Europe in 1907 to recoup his health after thirty years in India, Fr. Hoffmann used the opportunity to study the Raiffeisen credit societies which were then spreading on the continent of Europe. When he returned to India in March, 1908 he brought with him a complete project for a "Chotanagpur Cooperative Credit Society," adapted to the needs of the Adivasi tribal people of the Chotanagpur region. The foundation-stone of the new Society was the basic Raiffeisen principle of accumulation of capital through the contributions of members themselves. This was a sharp departure from the practice which then pre-

vailed among Indian cooperative societies (and prevails today) of relying mainly on loans from outside sources, mainly the Government. Initial shares were sold to members for Rs. 3, a figure so low that the Society was forced to maintain an energetic drive to enroll as large a number of persons as possible if sufficient capital funds were to be accumulated. The records for the year 1910 show 2,430 members enrolled in the Society which in that year had working capital of Rs. 16,000. By 1913 the number of members had climbed to 8,630 while working capital had increased to Rs. 84,000. At the present time there are slightly more than 25,000 members and working capital totals Rs. 3,186,624.

A second feature of Fr. Hoffmann's organization was an ingenious combination of centralization and decentralization. Decentralization was necessary because the Adivasis are a rural tribal people scattered over a wide area and because it was proposed to give loans on no security other than the honesty of the borrower and for this the borrower had to be recommended by fellow members

acquainted with him. At the same time a considerable degree of centralization was required for purposes of administration, supervision of local accounts, etc. To reconcile these conflicting needs a three-tiered system was devised, consisting of Rural Units, Circles and a Central Office. The system proved very successful and is still in force today.

At the base of the Society are the Rural Units, consisting of one or several villages. At the present time there are approximately 750 Rural Units. The real work of the Society takes place in the Rural Units, which are managed by a committee of the members' own choosing (panchayatdars). Applications for loans are made to the Rural Unit whose Committee then decides whether the application is to be forwarded to the Circle or not.

The Circles, which constitute the second tier of the Society, are federations of Rural Units. There are thirty-eight Circles at present. Each Circle is managed by a Committee of delegates from the Rural Units which are its members. The Circle's main

function is to grant or refuse loans not exceeding Rs. 200. Once a month would-be borrowers, accompanied by panchayatdars from their local Units, come to the Circle headquarters where the Managing Committee of the Circle either approves or rejects the loan. If approved, the sum is paid on the spot. Loans exceeding Rs. 200 must be approved by the Director of the Society before being paid. In addition to approving loans, the Circles also perform book-keeping functions for their Rural Units, which are thus relieved of the necessity and expense of maintaining a book-keeper of their own. At the apex of the Society is the Central Managing Committee composed of delegates from the Circle Managing Committees, and the Annual Plenary Session of all members. The President of the Society is the Archbishop of Ranchi, who appoints the Director. The Director is in charge of the Central Office and has the power to appoint Assistant Directors to supervise the Circles. In this way the day to day operations of the society are carried out in democratic fashion by the members themselves, but

subject to supervision and ultimate control from above. This measure of outside control, exercised by persons whom the members trusted, appears to have been a major factor in building up the confidence and trust on which the success of every credit society depend. It is interesting to note that Father Hoffmann's original constitutions provided that after 10 years (i.e. in 1919) the members should assume full control, or at least that the question be voted on every ten years. The members have never voted to take over full administration of the society, and some years ago voted to drop the original bye-law calling for periodic consideration of this question. It is reported that at the present time the members who live in Ranchi town favour full control of the Society but the much larger rural membership is overwhelmingly in favour of the present arrangement.

In addition to granting loans to members, the Society also receives deposits, and this is becoming an increasingly important part of its activity. Twenty-seven lakhs of the present working capital of approximately 31 lakhs

represents members' savings deposited with the Society, and these deposits are steadily on the increase. In order to use these funds to maximum advantage for the benefit of the members, the Society is now exploring the possibility of broadening its sphere of operation and becoming a Service Cooperative instead of a pure credit society. This was tried briefly some years ago but was given up for

various reasons. There is also a proposal under consideration to throw membership open to non-Catholics. At present membership is limited to Catholics only, which has had the advantage of giving the local panchayatdars a greater measure of control over borrowers and keep defaults down to the very low level which has prevailed since the Society's inception.

II. THE YELLOW AND WHITE CROSS

The "Yellow and White Cross" is an organization which provides domiciliary care of the sick.

Any family that pays the yearly fee is entitled to the services of a trained nurse whenever one of its members is sick. The nurse will call as often as the case requires, may be two three times a day. She is no substitute for the doctor and will not treat the patient herself, but she will do whatever the doctor has prescribed and bring along the instruments and utensils needed for treatment and for the comfort of the patient.

A Matron presides over a local unit. She may have a

dozen or more trained nurses under her and will assign to each of them the patients they are to look after. A phone call to headquarters and a nurse turns up. Normally the Matron herself pays the first visit.

The nurse's role is not limited to the physical care of the sick. For, when sickness enters a family, other problems arise to the solution of which she will discreetly contribute, f.i. by advising to call in another expert, social worker, priest etc.

In the Netherlands, where it originated, and in Belgium, where it is flourishing and is recognized by the Ministry of

Health,** the "Yellow and White Cross" is organised on a co-operative basis. The yearly fee is nominal (about Rs. 12/-) and entitles the members to a reduction of 67% on the fees due to a nurse for professional services, and to the free use of utensils and instruments.

The organization is favoured not only by the lower-income families for whom it is primarily intended, but also by the well-to-do whom it assures of quick, competent and devoted care.

** The Belgian National Headquarters of the Organization are at "Secretariat National", 13 rue Caroly, Brussels.

STATEMENTS

Pope John on Rural Life

Speaking to the participants in the Thirteenth Congress of the Italian National Confederation of Independent Farmers, (April, 1959) Pope John said :

Beloved sons and daughters! We say to you in the first place : Love the earth. This is the sweet and strong link, beyond that of the family, which binds you closely to your places of birth or of work and which contains so many memories which one hands down like a holy inheritance from one generation to another. But it is true that cultivating the earth involves fatigue and pain in consequence of original sin, as does every activity depending on human strength. It is also true that the return the earth gives is now and then unequal to the work put in, forcing one often to search in the city for an existence with more immediate economic advantages, although they are not always secure..... We nevertheless say to you, Love the earth !, a generous and severe mother who holds in

her womb the treasures of Providence. Love her particularly today when a dangerous frame of mind is spreading and enveloping the most sacred values of man, that you may find in it the serene framework for the development and safeguard of your complete personality. Love it because through your contact with it, through the nobility of your work, it will be easier for you to improve your mind and raise it to God.

This love does not, however, mean a placid and improvident preserving of ancient methods no longer suited to new demands. It means a study and application of the new processes of farming and of work in the constant rhythm of continued progress.... If Our invitation to love the land is addressed to all farmers, in a special way it is addressed to the youth, to whose strong hands, to whose ready intelligence and to whose enterprising spirit are entrusted the continuity and progress of rural life and therefore of the whole national life.

Love the family! This is the second thought we offer you. Without this love there would not be the full significance of what we have just told you. The love of the earth can only be understood and appreciated as part of the love for one's own family in which lies the secret of the integrity and strength of each nation. The exodus from the land wounds the rural family as a direct consequence, sometimes bringing a mentality and habits which are harmful to the family institutions.....

For Our last thought We say to you: Love the Church! Throughout the centuries, she has always found among the people of the land the sound and capable material with which she has formed the greater part of her priests and of her saints. In recent centuries, with the dimming of the splendour of the Faith and of "thinking with the Church", esteem for the high gift of ecclesiastical or religious vocations has been lost in other social classes while the contribution of the land to the order of the priesthood has been and is irreplaceable. In the same way, as an obvious consequence, great has

been the number of saints chosen by the Lord from rural families, like the most perfumed flowers. We would not have enough time to number them all. It suffices Us to recall, due to circumstances which touch Us closely, the saintly Cure of Ars, the centenary of whose death is celebrated this year; Don Bosco, to whom a church here in Rome is to be dedicated shortly; and St. Pius X, temporarily transported in the midst of jubilation of praying crowds to his beloved Venice.

East and West

From a speech given by Mr. Thom Kerstiens, General Secretary of Pax Romana — ICMICA, at the opening of the Pax Romana Interfederal Assembly at Manila. December 26, 1959.

It is said that the West is materialistic, the East mystic, but having read the works of St. Bernard, St. Teresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, and noting that the books of Thomas Merton are best-sellers in the States, while on the other hand materialistic Communism is rapidly spreading in the East, I put a question mark.

It is said that the East is traditional and the West progressive, but looking at the enormous changes taking place here in Asia, the political revolution which is now being followed by an economic one, the cultural explosion which results from rethinking the values in your ancient cultures, the spiritual explosion which can draw a crowd of one and a half million to the rosary crusade in this city, and comparing them with the narrow outlook which still too often prevails in Europe and the United States where the parish remains the centre of the Universe, although the parish church even on Sundays is half empty, I have to think again.

All this shows that we must beware of old slogans, that we must continually try to follow the evolution which is taking place in this world. The world today is not the world of 150 years ago, nor is it that of 50 years ago. Today there are 800 million more mouths to be fed. Fifty, no, even twelve years ago, practically the whole of Asia lived under a colonial regime

— today colonialism is quickly becoming a historical notion, be it with a bitter aftertaste. Fifty years ago the centre of the world was in Western Europe, later we saw it move to the United States, and still later we have seen the world split into two blocks, but already a third force, and I am thinking of this continent, is coming to the fore, and may modify the whole situation. Not even 50 years ago, let us say before the last World War, did one man out of twelve live under a Communist regime — today the proportion is one out of three. Humanity has never witnessed such a rapid extension of an ideology.

But the evolution of the world does not interest us for its own sake. If we want to follow it, then it is to see in it the signs of the presence of God. It is to hear the call which history continually addresses to us — to revise our methods of action as Christians. If we follow history, I say, it is to learn to build a world which will find once more the harmony of God's glory.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

SEMINAR, edited and published by Romesh Thapar, 2 Mayfair, Little Gibbs Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay. — Annual subscription Rs. 10.

This new Monthly attempts a departure from the usual Journal. It discusses a single problem each month. The editors pose the problem and raise certain relevant questions, and writers of various persuasions examine the various aspects of the problem. Opposing viewpoints are thus expressed within the pages of the same magazine. The reader is left free to come to his own conclusions. The experiment is a novel one and, judging from the six issues that have appeared so far, bids fair to succeed.

The editors have not hesitated to go straightaway for the most actual and controversial problems:

"The Party in Power" (Sept. 1959), a symposium on the state of the Indian National Congress today.

"Food for Forty Crores" (Oct. 1959), or the essentials

of an agricultural production programme in India.

"Freedom and Planning" (Nov. 1959), or economic planning and the freedom of thought and expression.

"The Changing Villages" (Dec. 1959), or the official and non-official rural development programmes.

"Co-operative Farming" (Jan. 1960).

"The Two Sectors" (Feb. 1960), or the tensions between private and public enterprise in India.

The approach to each subject is practical and concrete rather than academic. The number on "Co-operative Farming" for instance has articles entitled: Towards Co-operation; Indian Experience; Scandinavian Practice; Communist Experiments; Israel's Approach; China's Way; and Warning.

Contributors include such well-known names as U. N. Dhebar, late Congress President; Vaikunth L. Mehta, former Minister, Government of Bombay; Sadiq Ali, Secretary of the Congress; N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party; M. Ruthnaswamy, former Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University; Mohanlal Saksena,

former Minister of State in the Central Government; etc.

One further valuable feature of the magazine is the Review of Books on the subject under discussion, and a selected and relevant bibliography for further reading. *Seminar* is certainly a welcome and promising journal.

Religion in the USSR, by Jacques Nantet. *The Catholic Mind*, Jan.-Feb., 1960.

In this significant article, which first appeared in *Signes du Temps* and later in an English translation in *Blackfriars* and the *Catholic Mind*, Jacques Nantet reports on an on-the-spot investigation of the present position of Religion in Soviet Russia. The author's major conclusion is that a widespread religious revival is underway in Russia and that "the Soviet leaders are faced with a phenomenon of the first importance in the rebirth of faith, at least among Christians and Jews." Evidences of this revival, which, as is to be expected, concerns primarily the Russian Orthodox Church, are the following. According to the best figures the Orthodox Church has approximately 30 million

adherents divided among 20,000 parishes and served by 35,000 priests. If these figures are correct it would mean that church attendance has by now returned to within 50 per cent of the 1915 level. Church congregations appear to be made up mostly of women, young and old, but there are also "plenty of children and men of all ages." As the author points out the presence of these children is most significant. It shows that many men, even if they do not go to Church themselves, are nevertheless willing that their children should receive religious instruction. There has been a sharp rise in the number of vocations to the priesthood, trained in two Academies of Theology (Mos-

cow-Zagorsk and Leningrad) and in eight seminaries for the education of young candidates for the priesthood. The Seminarists spend four years in study enjoying with other students the right of postponement of military service during that time. About forty young men from each seminary are ordained each year. In addition the Leningrad Seminary ordains five to six hundred young men who have done their studies by correspondence and a similar scheme at Moscow provides about a hundred new priests yearly. Even more significant than the numbers is the fact that "real vocations nowadays often come from agnostic circles or working-class families," particularly in new milieus. This is in sharp contrast with pre-Revolution days when the priesthood in Russia commonly descended from father to son. There is a large demand for priests. In each new village that is founded (e.g. in Siberia) a parish is established, and the war-damaged churches of Stalingrad have recently been rebuilt and need priests. Within limits imposed by severe paper rationing, the Patriarch of Moscow is free to publish

what he wishes and has his own press. In 1956 this press published a Bible. Despite the fact that no religious publications can be sold outside Churches, seminaries or convents, the printing of 55,000 copies was soon exhausted and a new edition is now in preparation.

How is this religious revival to be explained? The Patriarch's reply would be, according to Mr. Nantet, that "we must thank the grandmothers." It was they, he says, who maintained the tradition of religion in the worst days of the persecution. "And it is still above all the poor, the simple folk, who are being converted, not so much the students as the young workers and peasants; rarely, it must be admitted, members of the party."

Nantet thinks that a growing sense of disillusionment with Marxism, is also responsible particularly among young intellectuals, who in their private discussions criticise "a materialism which has produced results in the realm of building but failed to give people the freedom they expected of it."

Equally important is the present policy of the Soviet Government toward religion, a policy which can be described as "tactical liberalism." There is no doubt that the Government's religious policy is more liberal than in the days of Stalin. Anti-religious propaganda is more subdued and is now chiefly concerned with showing that religion is "unscientific." The State does not oppose the Orthodox Church whose activities form by far the largest part of the religious movement in the country. New found courtesy and external respect characterize the dealings of Government officials with Church dignitaries. Observing this courtesy in action the author is led to remark that "it was scarcely the attitude a triumphant power adopts towards a beaten rival whose continued existence is tolerated. It was rather the kind of behaviour one sees between partners who have come to a mutually advantageous understanding which they desire to keep going." This last remark seems to contain the key to the Government's present liberal policy. Nantet thinks the Government is seeking to make use of the people's desire for greater religious expres-

sion and the vast machinery which the Russian Orthodox Church represents. High Government officials have, he says, only one preoccupation at present: "catching up with the Americans." Everything is being subordinated to that. For that, peace is essential: peace abroad and peace at home. Apparently on the theory that a religious man is less of a danger to the State than a man with a mind for politics, the authorities seem to have decided to accept the religious revival which is gathering momentum in the country rather than oppose it. The view seems to be that rather than have the Christian, Jew and Muslim plotting against the State it is preferable that they should be free after working hours to attend church, synagogue or mosque. The Orthodox Church, on its part, makes a distinction within Marxism between "the materialism to which the Church remains fundamentally opposed and the socialism which presents no difficulty to the Christian conscience." In this way it has arrived at a *modus vivendi* with the State. Nantet believes that what we are witnessing in Russia "is in fact an unhappy compromise of a

very complex nature which, while contributing greatly to the renaissance of Christianity in the country, also favours certain Soviet aims in the world at large."

Religious groups other than the Orthodox Church, such as the Jews and Muslims, are also benefitting from the current policy of "tactical liberalism." The Catholic Church alone, observes the author, is in a rather more difficult position "due as much to its claims to universality as to the Russian

national and religious traditions."

Summing up his observations, the author concludes: "How long this tactic will continue to be considered a useful one is an important question for us all. For my part I think it will last a long time. But in the last resort, what is even more significant than this tactical liberalism adopted by the Soviet Government as regards religion is the failure of every renewed effort of the anti-religious propaganda. There one sees what the people of the USSR really think."

LE JAPON FACE AU CHRIST. *Rythmes Du Monde*. NN. 3, 4. 1959. 184 pages. 12 illustrations. Abbaye de St. Andre, Bruges, Belgium.

Two years ago RYTHMES DU MONDE, the french language quarterly which specializes in problems of world civilisation and currents of thought, published a remarkable study on modern India. Its last issue is devoted to Japan. If the scope of this study is more restricted and mainly concerned with Japan's attitude towards Christ and Christianity, its analysis of the modern spiritual outlook of the Japanese is all the more penetrating and moving.

Much effort must have gone into the preparation of this volume which benefits by the collaboration of prominent Japanese and of Westerners well acquainted with and sympathetic to Japan.

A first part, entitled "Japan Today" offers a variegated picture of the country and its people under such aspects as the role of women in the new Japanese society, the population problem, the economists of Japan, and Japanese love of nature.

The second and third parts deal with Japan's attitude respectively to Christ and to Catholicism ; a last part, with Art and Christianity.

The most striking note of this deeply human and sincere study is the concordant testimony to Japan's "general unbelief". "We all are either agnostics or atheists", writes one of the Japanese contributors. The old religions, it is admitted, still keep a strong hold on the people but they are devoid of rational foundation or dogmatic content, whereas the moral law is confined to a few social virtues, superstitions are rife, and religious practice is limited to two or three annual feasts.

What do the Japanese think of Christianity? They are mostly either ignorant about it or indifferent towards it, with at times a tinge of hostility towards what is still considered as a religion of the West. There is more attraction for the person of Christ than for Christianity.

Japan, it is remarked, has borrowed from the West its techniques and much of its culture; it has not adopted those elements of natural

philosophy, that "spirit" which lies at the source of western civilisation. As a Japanese writer puts it, it is western civilisation without its christian inspiration or humanism.

The effects of the social-economic chaos created in Japan by the Second World War are felt in university circles even now. Many young men cannot pursue their studies unless they earn their living at the same time. And unemployed graduates are numerous. The average Japanese is thus too engrossed in trying to keep body and soul together to think of metaphysics or things of the spirit.

In this respect the most revealing and moving document of this captivating volume is an inquiry made among some 58 university students of Japan and their answers to four questions: What do you think of faith? Which is your faith? What do you think of Christ? Have you any objection against Christianity and particularly against Catholicism? The answers are brief and outspoken, and testify to the spiritual emptiness of a lovable people adrift on the stormy ocean of modern life.

The volume concludes with a vivid chronicle of the six months' civil war in Lebanon and a reporter's im-

pressions of the Conference of the Central Committee of the Ecumenical Council held at Rhodes last August.

Problemes de population et morale by G. Mertens, S.J., *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*, Dec., 1959.

The familiar data on world population growth are first given: v.g., between 1650 and 1750 the world rate of increase was only 0.3 per cent; today it is 1.7 per cent, a rate which corresponds to doubling the population every 40 years. Not only is there a very rapid growth in the underdeveloped countries, but almost as important there is taking place "the revolution of rising expectations" which makes the inhabitants of these lands discontented with their present condition.

Today the family is weakened. Formerly, there were more unmarried persons than today and they were often a financial aid to their families. Today, more get married than was the case previously while the family is subjected to many influences: economic, cultural, comfort, amusements, all of which weaken its structure. This fact explains why the population problem appears in a different context

from its setting of previous times.

Non-Catholics object that the Catholic position is negative, and that Catholics do not bring forward any solution to the demographic problem. But experience shows that reduction of population has serious disadvantages. In Europe and America it is the large families that have kept up the average national birth rate. Birth control increases the percentage of old people. In Belgium, between 1900 and 1955, the proportion of the population over 60 years of age has risen from 10 to 17 per cent. It is estimated that Japan's generation of old people, due to birth control and abortion, will be 25 per cent of the total population during the next half-century. Demographers think that a ratio of old people higher than 24 per cent can be a danger to the total population.

A further disadvantage is that wherever contraceptives are freely used abortion becomes *more* common. This has been the experience of Japan, Sweden, Denmark and Britain. Sterilisation, as a permanent solution, also becomes more frequent. Japan has about 50,000 sterilisations a year. Grave psychological consequences result from "a civilisation of contraception." What is true of friendship is true of sexual love: it must be creative or else it degrades.

Concerning recent developments in sexual morality; it is clear from Pius XII's Allocation to Midwives and subsequent clarifications of that Address, that new discoveries are desirable which would allow couples to regulate their fertility according to the natural law. The writer makes frequent reference to S. de Lestapis' *La Limitation des Naissance* (Cf. *Social Action*, Jan. 1960, p. 38) for the demographic and moral aspects. The reflections of well-intentioned non-Catholic demographers are cited as are also the efforts of Catholic writers to insist on a more rational use of sex. But the question of more responsible fertility has scarcely found

its way into the textbooks of moral theology and into the teaching given in seminaries. Among the textbooks of moral theology published during the last 30 years, only one speaks of Malthus and then only to refute him, thus missing the opportunity of treating of modern population problems. The whole demographic question should be fully treated from the point of view of family, nation and the world.

The task is much more delicate when it comes to speaking of a regulation of births at a pastoral level, i.e., to the faithful in general, overwhelmed, as they are, by family planning propaganda. But risks and difficulties do not justify doing nothing. A preliminary sociological inquiry into attitudes regarding population pressure should produce valuable information. Love of children, care for their future, respect for women, are elements to build on. What have Catholics to propose of *positive* value in countries of rapid population growth? This problem should be tackled, especially where Catholics are numerous, as, for instance, in South America. Much remains to be done for

the spread of accurate knowledge of the complicated question of population growth. Chairs of demography in universities are all too few.

A mutual exchange of information and collaboration in research between Christian, and, particularly, between Catholic demographers would be of great value.

Indian Villagers and Contraception, by Peggy and Pierre Streit. The *New York Times Magazine*, March 13, 1960.

In this article the well-known team of free-lance journalists, Peggy and Pierre Streit, report on the attitude of Indian villagers to a birth control programme. The village, whose name is not given, is described as one in which a team of medical researchers have lived and worked for the past few years, making available birth control information and free easy-to-use contraceptives. They have sought in their research to discover the effect of such a programme on the village birth rate. The village, located in north India, has much in common with the average Indian village but in many ways is not typical, in that "it has better land, better climate, more water than most Indian villages. Most of its excess population has emigrated successfully, thus relieving pressure on the land and contributing to the village's prosperity."

What the research team discovered will not give much comfort to those who think that birth control programmes are the answer to India's population problem. The attitude of the villagers is summed up in the words of the local school teacher to the Streits, "a man of the village, unpretentious, but with an alert shrewd head on his broad shoulders and an excellent command of English, learned in his years in the army." "You foreigners," this man said, "come to see us and ask us many questions about personal things — about birth control and contraception. You think we want fewer children than we have, and you think that we need the contraceptives you bring to our village. We are not so simple as you think. We have our ways. If we wanted smaller families than we have, we know how to get them. We don't really need your pills."

This statement conforms with what the medical team discovered through its research. Their main findings have been (1) many people accepted contraceptive tablets but the majority did not use them. When asked why not they said in effect "We guess we do want another child. At least we don't want to start cutting down on the size of our family now." (2) It was learned that when and if, for one reason or another, the villagers want to limit the size of their families they have and have had for generations the necessary know-how to do so. The simple fact seems to be that while villagers can see some good reasons for having small families they also see good reasons for having large ones. In the villagers' mind the latter definitely predominate at the present time. Among the reasons for large families are the following: (1) the traditional Hindu desire for a son, or more sons than the family already has; (2) a sense of insecurity about the future. Memories of times when the

whole community was wiped out by plague or smallpox are still vivid, and villagers do not seem to have much confidence in the ability of modern medicine to prevent such catastrophes. Many families, too, see two or three of their children die before the age of five, so that if they want to be sure of three or four children they feel they must have six or seven. (3) The prevalence of feuds and family rivalries that riddle village society. A large number of sons seems to be considered an asset in the conflict with one's neighbours. These three factors probably operate with even stronger force in villages less prosperous than the one where the research was carried out. The Streits' conclude that birth control programmes are likely to have little effect on the village birth rate in India until the villagers really desire smaller families. No one knows when that will come about, if ever. But one thing is certain: at present "the villagers like children — lots of them."

"The present and future of Kerala" by Shri U. N. Dhebar, in *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, March I, 1960.

The late Congress President, who obviously knows what he is speaking about, sounds a note of alarm. "It

is necessary, he says, for the people and the Govt. of India to realise that the economic problem of Kerala is a problem which no Government in Kerala whether popular or unpopular, democratic or totalitarian, will ever be able to solve unless the problem is given a definite priority. Communism in Kerala is as much the result as the cause of the difficulties that Kerala faces, more the former than the latter. The illiterate Moplah, who is a tenant of the 'not-much-well-to-do' Nair, is being trained by the Communists to look upon the latter as an enemy. The Ezhawa tenant of the Nair or Christian landlord is being incited to look upon the latter as his enemy. This may be a convenient and an easy approach to build up their organisation but disastrous from the point of view of harmony and peace of that place. From thousands of cells and from the scores of vantage and strategic points which the Communists have come to occupy since their administration, Communists are carrying on a ceaseless war, cold usually but sometimes hot too, to demolish the foundations of the cultured society. There is hardly any under-

standing of this in India. Communism has the capacity to clothe its manoeuvres in intelligent democratic looking attires and a section of the intelligentsia in India wants nothing more. It has not the time nor the vision nor the patience to understand the real issue."

Shri Dhebar feels "constrained to say that the Government of India's approach to the problem of Kerala is totally inadequate." It was the same with regard to the liberation struggle. "The people (of Kerala) had no other alternative left. The local Government was unheeding. The Central Government was skulking lest it would be faced with the criticism of the Communists and the up-country intelligentsia. It was satisfied that the Communist Ministry was doing many things which were not compatible with the normal principles of democracy. But it had to be pushed. It would not move of its own accord".

He pleads for "the realisation of the emergency". The Government of India should "look upon the problem of Kerala as a problem of first rate importance to the

peace and progress of the whole country. The pathetic assumption that Communist approach of class conflict can be contained is, let me repeat it with all the force at my command, unwarranted".

Shri Dhebar makes three suggestions: (1) a special machinery at the centre to attend to the economic problem of Kerala. (2) in every district of Kerala "a nucleus that can mobilise the services of the countless workers who

had participated in the elections and induce them to enter into the lives of the people, especially those that are at the bottom of the layer and who are feeling neglected, with a message of hope and some constructive programme for service. Communism is deeply ingrained in this layer and is spreading its message of hatred." (3) As an incentive to the people, giving them a clear picture of the future socio-economic development planned for Kerala.

BOOKS

A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CATECHISM (Vol. I) by Bernhard Welty, O.P. (Nelson, London, 1959). (A translation of *Social Katechismus*, Vol. II, *Der Aufbau der Gemeinschaft te-Ordnung* by B. Welty, O.P., zweite Auflage, 1957. Herder, Freiburg in Breisgau).*

This book is but one of four volumes designed as a complete "Social Catechism," the scope of which is indicated by the sub-title, "A Work-Book of Catholic Social Ethics in Question and Answer." In many ways, however, the present volume can be considered a unit in itself and this is the way it will be considered here.

The book is, first of all, what the title indicates: it is both Catholic and a Catechism. As Catholic its utility, which is very great, is directed to three categories of persons: (a) Non-Catholics who desire objective and correct information on the Catholic point of view on social questions; (b) Catholics, e.g., Catholic social workers, who are too busy for a thorough study of social problems but who want or need reliable information regarding the Church's position

on them; and (c) Catholic experts for whom the book serves as a useful Vade mecum and synopsis of the Church's social teaching. As a catechism in question and answer form, the book presents the double drawback of every catechism. These are, first, that one might forget that the book is intended essentially as a summary, in which no problem is dealt with exhaustively although all problems may be included. This is important to remember for those who will use the volume as an introduction to social questions. They must remember that an introduction such as this is no adequate substitute for thorough study. The second drawback is that a catechism is essentially a handbook for a teacher not a manual for students without a teacher. No novice should venture into any field with only a catechism as his guide, either this one or any

* This review is based on the German edition.

other. These observations hold equally true for the Non-Catholic desiring information on the Church's position on social questions. Anyone who would judge the Church's doctrine on these matters from no other reading than that of the Social Catechism would certainly give evidence of intellectual temerity.

Keeping in mind these limitations, we are in complete agreement with the laudatory remarks quoted on the book's cover. It is certainly Catholic, through and through. Anyone who wishes to base himself on the Catholic point of view can have confidence in Fr. Welty's exposition without fear or hesitation. It is complete. Even though, as mentioned above, no subject is treated exhaustively, there is no social question of importance which has not been included. It is up-to-date. Fr. Welty evidently is abreast of developments in the contemporary world of events and ideas and has taken these into account in writing his book. The language is clear and easy to understand. Technical terms and "jargon" are almost completely absent. Finally, the treatise is a veritable mine of excellently chosen quotations from the Papal documents on social questions, St. Thomas and other leading authorities.

This is not to say that we have no criticisms to make, not so much against any particular thesis propounded in the book but against what might be called the tone of the book as a whole, and that elusive quality which does much to determine the total impact of any book, emphasis. We have the impression that the author of this catechism is too rigoristic, too "rightist", too conservative. Let us not be misunderstood. We would not say that Fr. Welty is a rigorist, a rightist or a conservative. But we would say that it is possible to be more flexible and more sympathetic than he is towards positions which are not "Catholic" as such and still remain a good Catholic. It is a question of nuances and the ways they are handled, a question as important in doctrinal exposition as in life. At the decisive moments nuances can make all the difference in the world. This observation is not intended as destructive criticism or to provoke a quarrel with this very excellent book, but only as a warning to readers that one is not obliged to accept every-one of its positions as the last and only solution. Reading his own Foreword we are sure that the author will agree with this. *J. Cleymans*

This volume is a collection of lectures arranged by the Labour Relations Study Group of the Delhi School of Social Work and is Publication No. 11 in the School's series, "Studies in Social Work." The contributions to the present volume are extremely uneven in quality. By far the most valuable is the thoughtful analysis by Dr. Van D. Kennedy of the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California (Berkeley), entitled "A Case for Free Collective Bargaining in India" (Ch. VI). At the opposite end of the scale is the trivial propaganda piece entitled "Workers' Participation in Management (Workers' Viewpoint)" by Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour. M. P., Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress. Why an official of the Communist-dominated AITUC should be qualified to present the "workers' viewpoint" on the question of worker participation is not at all evident. An idea of the general level of Dr. Gour's performance can be gained from the first sentence of his lecture in which he speaks appreciatively of "the Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 which put an end to capitalist slavery in a sixth of the world." To Dr. Gour, work-

ers' participation in management is a capitalist plot to enslave the workers once again, which is interesting because in the preceding chapter, when presenting "management's view" of the subject, M. D. Dalmia, Managing Director of the Birla Mills (Delhi) argues vehemently against workers' participation.

Most of the remaining six papers are on a rather dull level of mediocrity and spend much time merely recounting well-known facts about labour legislation in India. There is little in them that is not contained in the ordinary elementary text-book on labour relations. Some readers may find Dr. Menon's survey of "Labour Legislation in Asian Countries" (Ch. II) useful. Here again, however, the paper ends where it should begin, with the intriguing question as to whether all this legislation can be considered "adequate or excessive." This, of course, is one of the major questions facing India and other Asian countries: namely, has there perhaps been too much legislation and can the weak economies of these countries support the vast apparatus of social legislation which has been erected,

prematurely in the opinion of many competent observers? Dr. Menon contents himself with the statement that "Progress is reasonable but a good deal has still to be covered." (p. 47). It is this utter lack of analysis in favour of mere description and narration of facts which makes most of this book very disappointing for anyone looking for new light on the important subject of labour relations in India.

This last statement does not apply to Dr. Kennedy's contribution on the subject of free collective bargaining. In this short but very thought-provoking paper Dr. Kennedy analyzes the conditions which must first be created before genuine collective bargaining can ever become a reality in India, and then goes on to discuss the effects which would be likely to follow the replacement of adjudication by bargaining. He does this by examining the objections commonly brought against collective bargaining in India, and in this section of his paper many cherished dogmas of the Government and Indian trade unions come off rather badly. One of the special merits of his treatment is that he brings out very clearly

the choices (some of them unpleasant) which must be faced if the country really wants free collective bargaining, as the Government says it does. To give one example, he says (p. 86). "It is doubtless true that most wage earners" living standards would rise very little in the near future under a system of free collective bargaining. The question is should they?" To put this question in proper perspective he points out that unionized workers, who constitute a very small percentage of the total Indian work force, "already enjoy terms of employment on the whole superior to those of other industrial and middle class workers and far superior to those of the great mass of rural agricultural and non-agricultural workers." Whether India should adopt free collective bargaining is admittedly a very controversial subject and Dr. Kennedy would be the first to admit that his essay is not the last word on the subject. But only the kind of frank facing of issues which his paper exemplifies can throw light on this and other important labour question in India.

J. Berna

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